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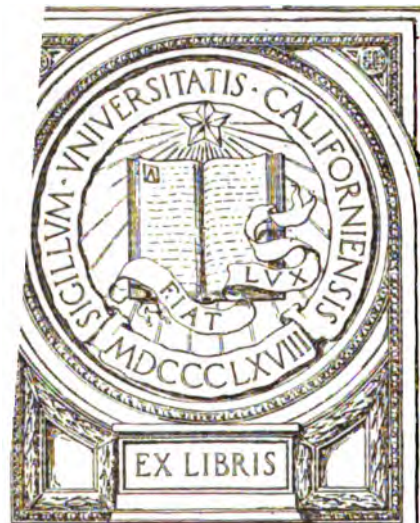
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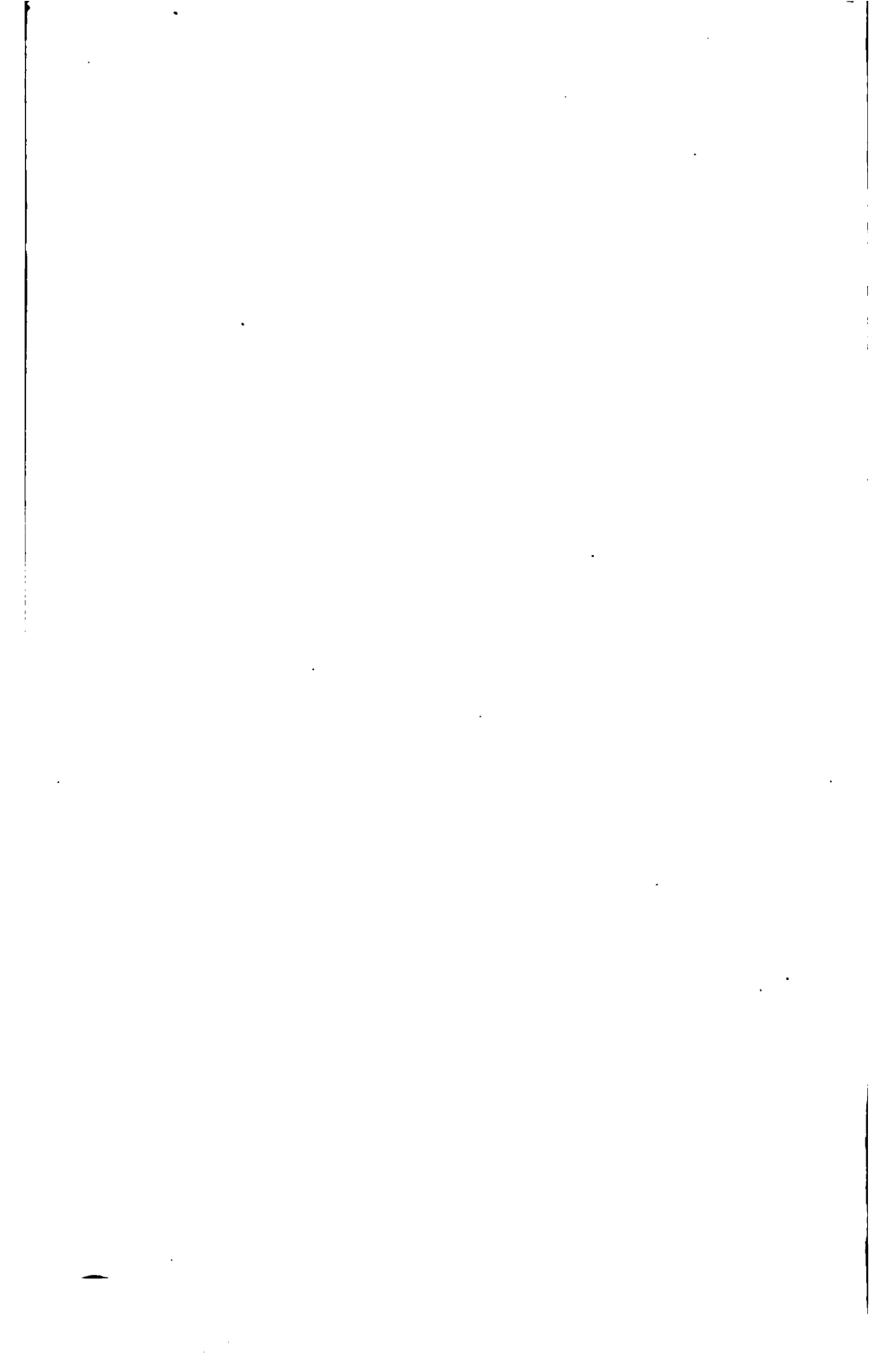
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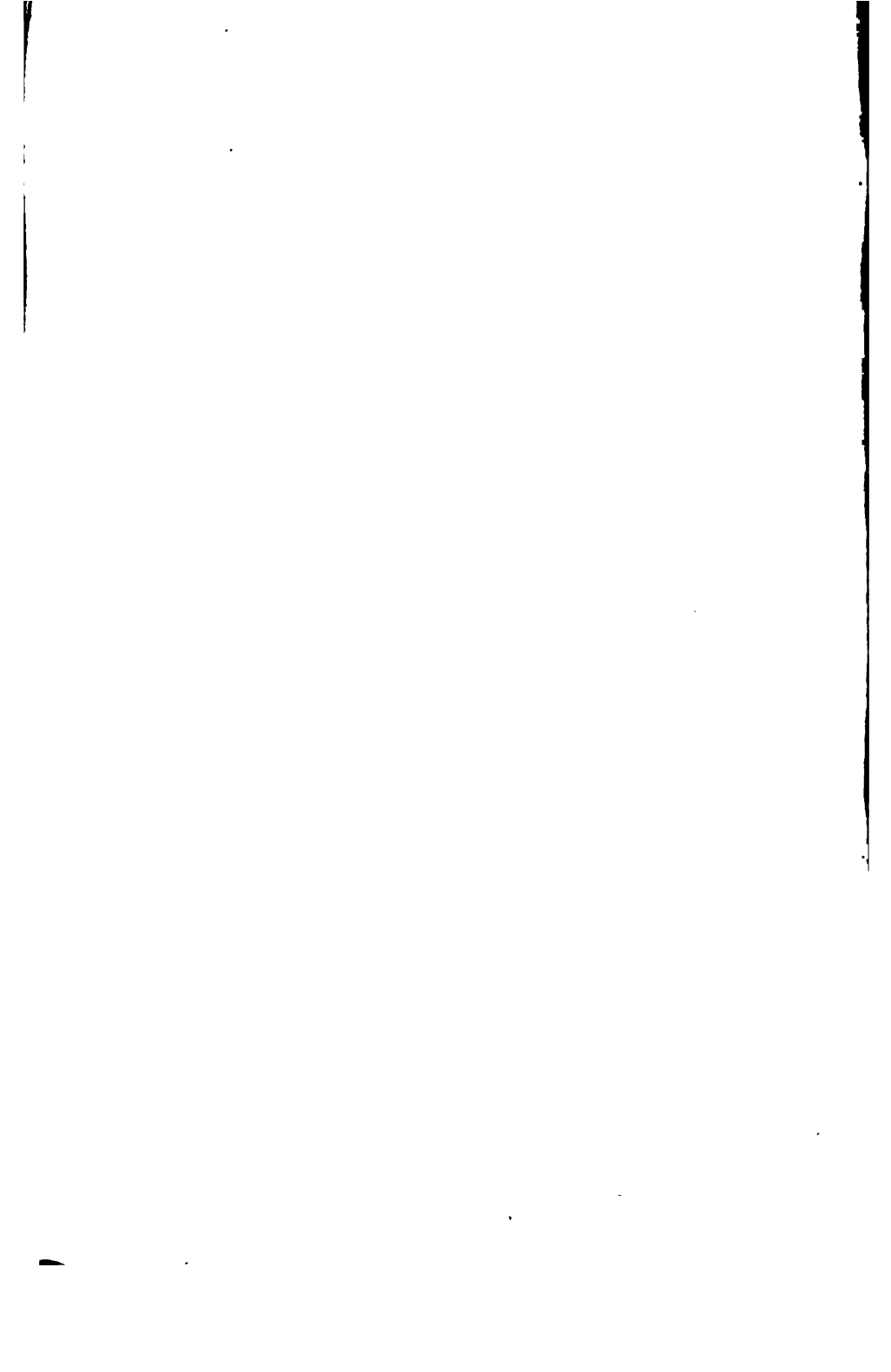
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EXCHANGE









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THE CHAPLAINS AND THE C

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

(1256—1568)

BY THE

REV. H. P. STOKES, LL.D.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.



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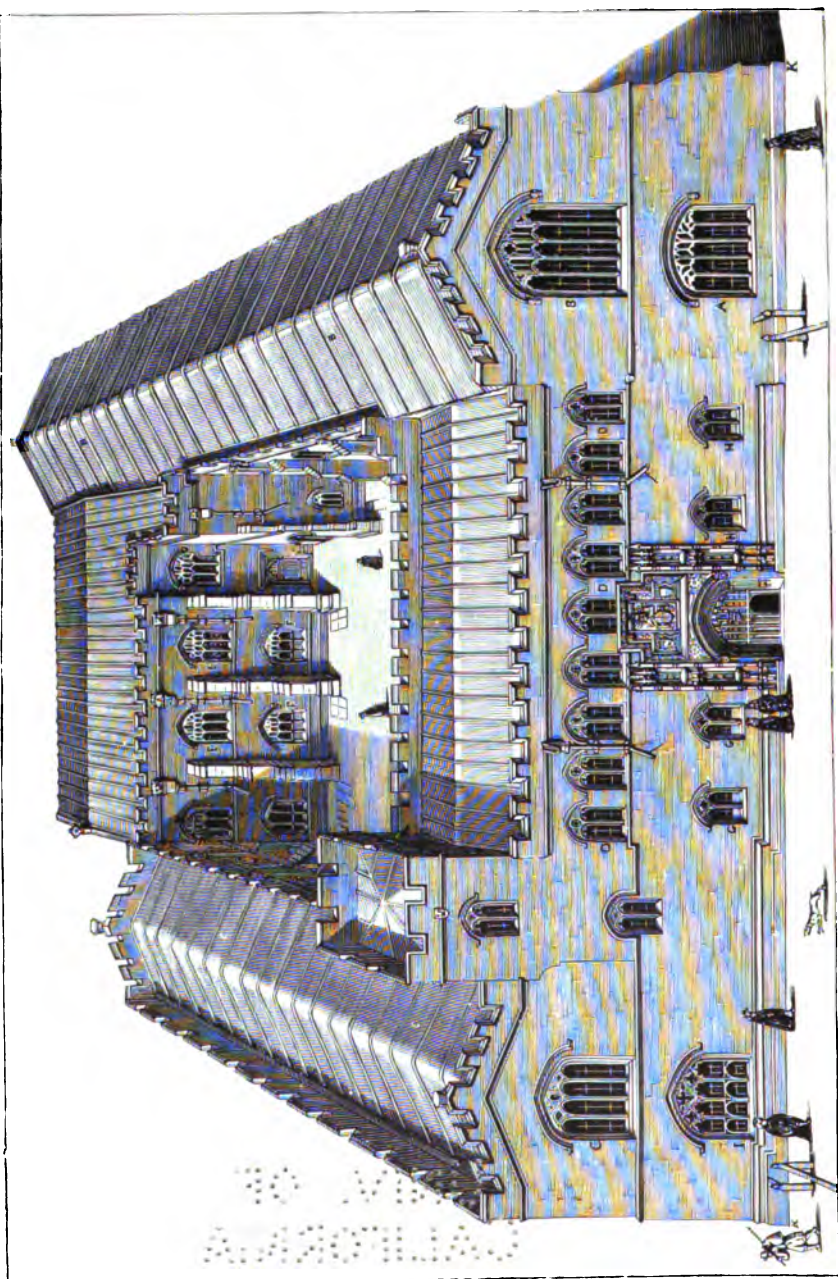
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(1256—1568)

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The Schools Quadrangle,
from Loggan's Print, c. 1688.

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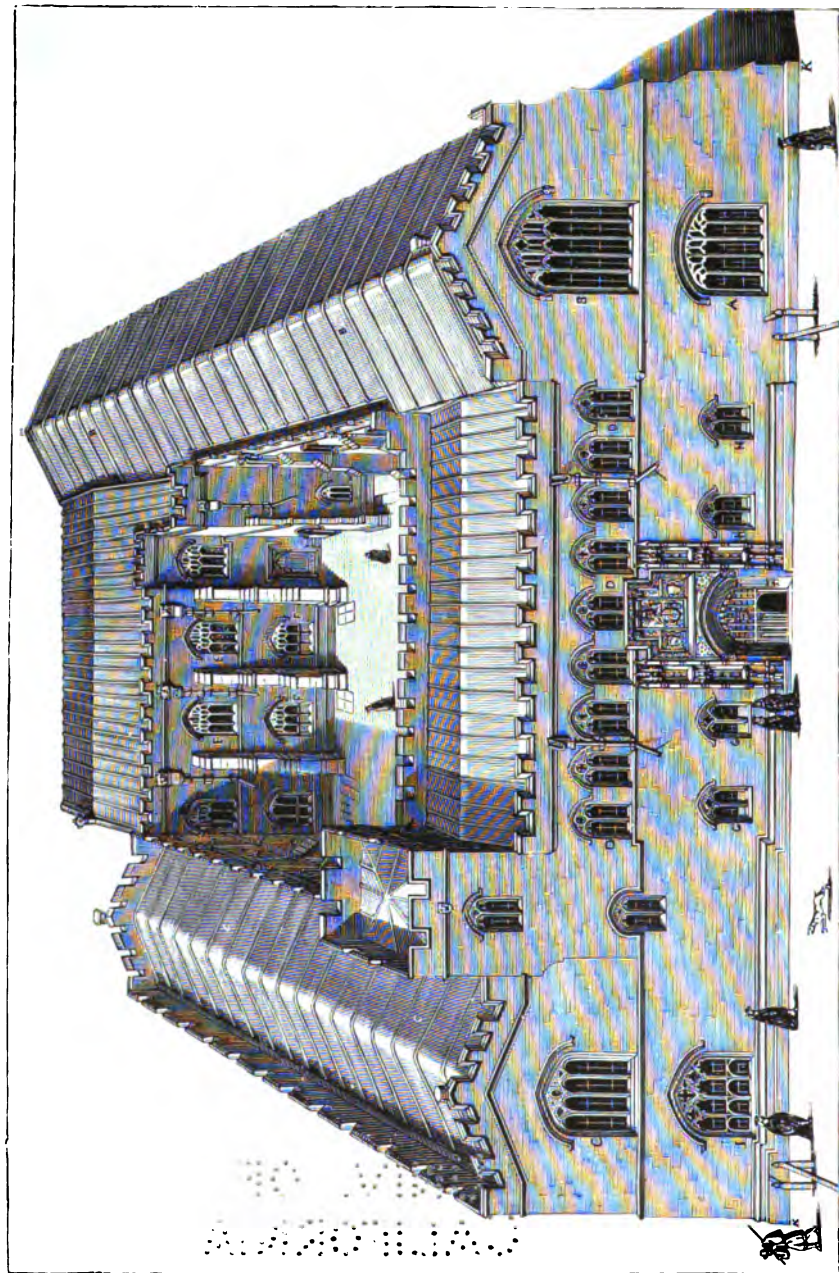
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CHAPTER I.

THE UNIVERSITY CHAPLAINS.

THE annals of the University of Cambridge contain no more pathetic words than the dying message¹ of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop and Martyr, who, before an affecting reference to his associations with Pembroke College, thus addressed his Alma Mater:

Farewel therefore Cambridge, my loving mother and tender Nurse, thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees, the common offices, the Chaplainship of the University, the office of the Proctorship and of a common Reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in Colledges what was it thou madeest me not partner of?

Ridley here refers with pride to the fact that he had formerly held the post of Chaplain of the University. His two predecessors in the office, it may be added, were Nicholas Heath (sometime Archbishop of York) and Hugh Latimer (the celebrated Bishop of Worcester).

Before the death of Archbishop Heath, however, the post held by these distinguished men was abolished; and the University has long since forgotten how conspicuous and how varied were the functions performed, during some three centuries, by the holders of this ancient office. For the University Chaplain of old was also the Cross-keeper of the University; he was the Librarian, the Keeper of the Chapel and of the Schools, and the executor of various University trusts.

His office and name have—with the exception of one or two casual references—fallen out of the University Statutes and the records of the Proctors' Books. To find what these functions were we must look back to some old documents,

¹ *Works of Ridley*, Parker Society, p. 406.

such for instance, as "the Ordinances of Cardinal Pole¹," drawn up in the reign of Queen Mary.

In these Statutes the ancient duties of the Chaplain were emphasised. Referring to "the officers and ministers of the University," in Ordinance No. 6, we read :

Capellanus universitatis debito ad quod juxta institutum magistri Nigelli de Thornton capellani fundatoris tenetur satisfaciatur et curet ut suos famulus pernociet in scholis vel diligenter singulis diebus attendat ne quis ibi noctu remaneat utque ante solis occasum claudat scholarum ostia eaque tempore congruo aperiat. Idemque capellanus per se vel aliam honestam personam habitu clericali et superpellicio indutam crucem universitatis in processionibus portet et bibliothecæ academice nec non tam crucis quam calicum et aliorum vasorum et indumentorum ac librorum ad res divinas pertinentium curam gerat de quibus habeat indenturam et reddat singulis annis rationem computo suo diligenter providendo ut omnia hæc integra ac munda et nitida teneantur et admonendo vice-cancellarium et procuratores de his quæ ad divinum cultum sunt necessaria emendis et procurandis. Quod si in præmissis vel aliquo præmissorum defecerit pro prima vice unius pro secunda duorum pro tertia quinque solidorum multam ipso facto incurrat. Et si ulterius intra unius anni spatium in contumacia processerit tanquam incorrigibilis officio hujusmodi privetur nec ad illud possit ulterius eligi seu quomodo libet admitti.

From this Ordinance we note that the Chaplain had the supervision of the University schools; that he was responsible for the carrying of the Cross at the general processions; and that he had the care of the sacred vessels, vestments, and service books which, it will be afterwards seen, belonged to "the New Chapel." We are also reminded that the founder of the Chaplaincy was one Nigel de Thornton.

But before we deal with this special and long-continued foundation, with the distinguished men who held the office, and with the varied duties they performed, it may be well to point out that there had been other similar foundations², the funds or duties of which had, however, been diverted or altered.

The first definite mention of the Thornton Chaplaincy (as

¹ See "Ordinationes Reginaldi Poli pro regimine Universitatis." (Lamb's Documents from the MS. Library of C.C.C., pp. 287, etc.)

² Stat. Ant. 174 (see *Commiss. Docum.*), in an account of the University Processions, places "The Chaplains of the University" between the Bachelors and the Regent Masters of Arts. The plural will be noticed.

we shall see later on) is in the year 1279; but, some twenty years before, after the death of William de Kilkenny, Bishop of Ely, in 1256, the executors of that prelate had assigned 200 marks to John, prior of Barnwell, on condition that the Convent should "find two chaplains for ever, which should be students in Cambridge, to say mass for the soul of the said Bishop Kilkenny; and those two chaplains were to receive 10 marks for ever" *de camera de Bernwelle*¹. The stipend, however, does not seem to have been forthcoming, for R. Parker (p. 189) quotes concerning Thomas de Skernyngham, Chancellor of the University in 1286: "Is defendit jus Universitatis contra Priorem de Bernewell, pro stipendio duorum Sacerdotum in Universitate celebrantium pro anima Magistri Willielmi Kilkenny Eliensis Episcopi." Dyer, in his *Privileges*, catalogues several documents referring to the dispute; and the agreement set forth before the judges at assize, Trin., 14 Edward I, is given in the Appendix to the History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, no. xxxviii. (1786). The quarrel lasted until the last year of the reign of Edward I; after which there is no further reference to these Chaplain-scholars.

At least as early as the year 1276—that is, before the foundation of any of the colleges—the University held in trust certain properties, the rents of which were applied to the maintenance of chaplains to celebrate divine offices for the soul of the founder, one Roger Heedon. The first holder of one of these posts, whose name is known, is John Geyste (or Goyste). His appointment is referred to in an indenture, mentioned in *Rysley's List* in the Registry, concerning the rent of divers possessions of the University: "Imprimis concessio ad vitam magistro Johanni Geyste capellano ad celebrandum pro anima Domini Rogeri Colyn de Heedon quatuor mesuagia, A°. 1276." At the great Inquisition taken in 1279, the Chancellor and Masters of the University are stated to have held three messuages, two of the gift of Nicholas de Heedon, clerk, and the third of the gift of John de Trepelow, chaplain. (See Cooper's *Annals* (i. 60), and Maitland's *Township*

¹ *Bibl. Top. Brit.*; but Mr J. W. Clark's forthcoming edition of the *Liber Memorandum*, etc., will supply the original records.

and Borough, p. 147.) After a long interval, a grant, similar to the above, is recorded¹: "1343. Item concessio ad vitam Magistro Willelmo Thorpe duorum Hospitiorum et quatuor cotagiorum ad celebrandum pro anima Domini Rogeri Heedon." This chaplain, William Thorpe, was perhaps connected with the family of that name whose benefactions to the University are so well known. Robert Thorpe, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England, was the second warden of Pembroke College; and it was apparently during his mastership that the University transferred to that college the patronage of one of the chaplaincies; for we find¹ that, in 1352, Richard Lyng being chancellor, the University made a grant to Pembroke of a messuage in St Peter's parish without Trumpington gates on condition that the Society should daily mention the soul of Roger Heedon (or Reydon) and should celebrate his exequies yearly on the feast of St Martin, Bishop, in the parish church.

During the same chancellorship (that of Archdeacon Lyng), the University also granted to the Hall of the Annunciation (Gonville's newly founded college) a tenement called "the Long Entry," situate in Lurteburgh Lane (now Free School Lane). This property, which the University owed to the generosity of the same Roger de Heedon, passed, by exchange, in the following year (1353), with adjacent tenements, into the possession of Corpus Christi College. To it was attached a chantry; but the subsequent history of the chaplainship is not known; though the name of the founder is still recited among the benefactors of Gonville and Caius College.

Yet again, before coming to the Thornton chaplaincy, it may be convenient here to refer to a grant of somewhat later date. In 1438, in the 16th year of Henry VI, the Chancellor (John Langton), masters, and scholars of the University petitioned the King to grant them the manor of Ruyslep² in the county of Middlesex, with a certain place called Northwood, with lands, etc. to that manor pertaining, after the death of John Somerseth, to whom it had been given for life. Whereupon the King by letters patent, dated July 10th, 1438, granted their petition in aid of

¹ Rysley's Catalogue (1420), in the volume in the University Registry, entitled *Registrum Librorum*, 1473.

² *Commiss. Documents*, i. p. 41.

the support of the Common Library, and in order that chaplains might in the University Chapel daily pray for his good estate during life, and for his soul after his death. In the following year (July 14th, 1439) Henry VI made a further grant, for the same purposes, of the reversion of the manors of Great and Little Okebourne in the county of Wilts, then held for life by John Saintlo, one of the esquires of the King's body. In the next reign, however, the Ruyslep property was transferred¹ by Edward IV to King's College, and a similar order was issued in connection with the Okebourne manors.

From these short-lived endowments we turn back to the foundation which the University owed to the liberality of Nigel de Thornton. This thirteenth century benefactor was a doctor of physic, who owned considerable properties in Cambridge, in the parishes of St Mary the Great and St John Zachary, and in the fields of Barnwell, Trumpington, and Coton. The exact date of Nigel Thornton's benefaction is not known. A document, which formerly existed at Clare Hall, recorded that the University authorities bought certain tenements from the physician about the year 1270²; and this property, we know, was, more than half-a-century later (1326)³, handed over, through the liberality of the then Chancellor, Richard Badew, to the college, first called University Hall, and subsequently styled Clare Hall. But in the great Inquisition made by King Edward I, in 1278-9, there is no record of buildings held by the University in the parish of St John Zachary. The Thornton houses in that parish and in St Mary's are, according to that return⁴, in the lands of a nephew of the physician, named Roger de Rydelingfield, who was sometimes styled Roger de Thornton. The uncle, Nigellus, was probably dead before the great Inquisition of 1279; but he had during his lifetime made over to his nephew Roger, who was a chaplain, certain properties, which subsequently came into the hands of the University. One of the deeds, soon to be referred to, says of these buildings and lands, "as well the aforesaid messuages as the aforesaid land were formerly of one Nigellus, who thereof enfeofed the aforesaid Roger, chaplain, to leave to him and his successors,

¹ *Commiss. Documents*, i. p. 58.

² Willis and Clark, *Archit. History*, i. p. 78.

³ Caius, *Hist.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 880, 1.

chaplains celebrating divine service for the soul of the aforesaid Nigellus¹. The physician had doubtless destined the property for the University, and the nephew, holding the office of chaplain, was apparently willing to complete the transfer. But in 1280, one Reginald FitzJordan, who had a certain claim upon the estate, alleging that Roger de Thornton had alienated it in mortmain, seized the property into his hands as forfeited, as by statute he lawfully might. The chaplain denied the gift in mortmain, and declared that the University authorities "never had anything in the same tenements." Half-a-dozen years later Thomas de Skernyngham, who was then Chancellor, and who (as we have seen) so vigorously defended the rights of the University in the case of the Barnwell chaplaincy in the same year (1286), demanded against Roger de Rydelingfield (or Thornton) the property in question as "the right of the University aforesaid," alleging that his predecessor Robert de Fulbourn, Chancellor about a decade before, had "demised it to the chaplain for a term of 10 years." Roger acknowledged the claim of the University, but alleged that he held the estate as chaplain not for a term of years, but for his life. And this life tenure the court allowed. After a period of eight more years the question was again raised, when under an *inquisitio ad quod damnum* King "Edward I, by writ dated the 17th May in the 22nd year of his reign (1294), commanded the sheriff of Cambridgeshire to enquire if it would be to the damage or prejudice of him or any other, if he should grant to Roger de Rydelingfield, chaplain, that he 4 messuages and 30 acres of land, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge, might give and assign to Master Henry Boyton, Chancellor of his University of Cambridge, and the Masters of the same University, for the performance of ghostly suffrages for the souls of the Kings and Queens of England and their children, and other benefactors of the same University, and for the expenses which, for the defence of the liberties and estate of the same University, might happen to arise, and also in part sustentation of Poor Scholars there dwelling¹."

¹ See the *Report of the Borough-Rate Committee* (1850), p. 56, referring to the documents catalogued by Rysley, and in certain cases copied by Hare, in the University Registry.

By the Inquisition, taken by virtue of the foregoing writ, it was found that the proposed grant would be to the damage and prejudice of the King, as well as of certain persons having certain interests in the property. The grant, however, seems to have been made, or confirmed, for when, a few years later, Roger de Thornton died, and another chaplain, Adam de Flixton, had been appointed to succeed him, Adam de Rydelingfield, brother of the deceased chaplain, claimed the estate. The claim, however, was disallowed; and the appointment of the University nominee was secured.

Thus, at the end of the thirteenth century, after some 20 years' disputing¹, the patronage and benefits rested with the University authorities.

The succession of the chaplains is not definitely recorded, and it is only by finding indentures or other legal documents that we come across the names of such officers during the fourteenth century. Such an indenture², dated February 15th, 1347, tells us that

John de Crachal, Chancellor of the University, and the assembly of the Masters Regent and non-Regent of the same, granted and demised to Master William de Alderford, priest, M.A., for the whole of his life, two places in the Town of Cambridge, and certain lands in the fields of the same Town, and also 10*s.* 2*d.* rent yearly, to be perceived of their Great Schools in the School-Street of Cambridge, in the name of one perpetual Chapel, to pray for the soul of Master Nigel de Thornton in the aforesaid University, which places of land and rent Sir Thurston de Hunyng-ham, priest, lately had and held of the said University in the name of the Chapel aforesaid.

This document thus supplies us with the names of two fourteenth century chaplains—Thurstan de Hunyngham and his successor William de Alderford. Of the latter of these we know nothing further than the indenture tells us—that he was a graduate of the University when in the middle of the fourteenth century he was nominated to the chaplaincy for life, or rather until he should be appointed to some benefice of the value of 100 shillings, after which he would be allowed a year of grace.

¹ For an abstract of these suits see Appendix II.

² See the *Report of the Borough-Rate Committee* (Cambridge 1850), p. 56. The original is given in Markaunt's *Book*, in the Registry, C. 12 b.

Of his predecessor Thurstan de Hunyngham we know more, for he is probably identical with "*Thurstanus Bedellus Capellanus*," whose name occurs in several documents during the first half of the fourteenth century. That he held the important office of Bedell of the University foreshadows the general usefulness of later chaplains.

The writer of this treatise has come across references to three or four other indentures, which doubtless recorded the nomination of succeeding chaplains during the later years of Edward III and the reign of Richard II; but the documents themselves have apparently disappeared.

The fifteenth century is, in one way, even more difficult. No indentures telling us of the appointments of chaplains are forthcoming, and when Grace Book A² (1454-1488) commences, and we might expect frequent references to so important an officer we are disappointed, for no direct mention of a *chaplain* under that name is found in that curious and interesting volume; we find, indeed, payments recorded on an early page (8) to a "priest of the University," and on a late page (219) to a "clerk of the University," but in neither case is the name of the official given.

As no list of the names of chaplains occurs in the first Grace Book, and as no individual on the foundation of Nigel de Thornton is specially designated as such, we must endeavour to identify these officers by indirect means. A large part of these University volumes is, of course, taken up with the record of payments. Let us see if we can trace the chaplains by their incomes.

Now it will be remembered that the grant made in connection with the Thornton trust was derived from certain messuages in the town of Cambridge, and certain lands in the outlying fields, together with "10s. 2d. rent yearly, to be perceived of the Great Schools in the School Street." Further

¹ See Miss Bateson's *Cambridge Gild Records*, pp. 23 and 152.

² Frequent references will be made to the two *Grace Books*, A and B, edited respectively by Stanley Leathes and Mary Bateson, in the Luard Memorial Series (Camb. Antiquarian Society). The writer is much indebted to Miss Bateson for a perusal of the proof-sheets of Grace Book B, part II.

we have seen, from the *Ordinance* of Cardinal Pole, that the Chaplain was keeper of the Schools, of the Library, and of the New Chapel. He also had special charge of the University Cross. Later on he acted as trustee of various funds, receiving certain fees for his labours.

It may here be mentioned that in an Inventory of goods in the University Registry, dated 1420, occurs the following: "Item Bursa Presbiteri cum pertinentibus levata de terris Universitatis et de scholis juris civilis ad faciendum celebrari pro anima Nigelli de Thornedon."

Turning to Grace Book A, which commences in 1454-5, we find under date 1456 the following payment, "Item solutum est presbitero universitatis de scholis juris civilis...x^s." But, as already remarked, though this entry doubtless refers to the chaplain and to the income which he received out of the schools, yet we are not told the name of that officer. In the accounts for the following year, 1456-7, however, we read "Item in deliberatis magistro stoyll pro scola juris civilis...x^s." Again in the next year, 1457-8, in connection with a fire at the buildings of King's College adjacent to the public schools and library, there occurs this entry: "Item doctori thome Stoyle pro diversis expensis factis per ipsum circa salvacionem communis librerie tempore quo ignis estuabat in regali collegio." It may be added that the three preceding details of that year's accounts are "Item pro cereis ardentibus in capella...x^d"; "Item pro baiulacione crucis ad duas vices...viii^d"; "Item pro mundacione capelle nove...11^d." Turning to the following year, 1458-9, we find among other records this payment: "Item pro baiulacione crucis ex conventionem magistri stoyle...iiiij^d."

These entries tell us that Dr Thomas Stoyle received payments in connection with the keeping of the schools and the library, the Chapel and the Cross; and hence we are justified in asserting that he held the office of Chaplain of the University. Thomas Stoyle, who was a fellow of Peterhouse, was one of the most energetic and efficient graduates of the University, where he was especially active as a member of the syndicate which carried out the erection of the buildings on the west and south sides of the Schools-quadangle. The chaplain, who had

commenced D.D. in 1457, was appointed Master of Clare Hall in 1466, in which year he filled the office of Vice-Chancellor. He occupied the same post again in 1473-4. He is often mentioned in connection with the finances of the University and of his College. When he resigned his office as chaplain to the University is not known; nor indeed is the date of his relinquishing the mastership certain. The last occurrence of his name is in the record of the gift of a printed book to the University Library in 1485-6.

Mr Bradshaw printed, from among the University documents, a very interesting "Registrum Librorum et Scriptorum," followed by a description of the parts of the University Cross, compiled by Messrs Songer and Cockerham, the proctors for 1473-4. At the end of these inventories is the following note: "*Qui quidem libri omnes et singuli cum cruce et eidem pertinentiis per procuratores supradictos eidem magistro Johanni Ocley traditi sunt*¹."

Turning again to the accounts in Grace Book A we find, on page 117, the following entry, "Item M. hotlay...xl^s." No details are given; but on a previous page (40) a decree of the senate is recorded "*quod Custos librarie recipiet annuatim de denariis scole canonici juris xl^s."* This was in 1463-4; and, shortly afterwards in the same year, the proctors' accounts chronicle the salary for half a year, "Item pro custode librarie de pecuniis scole Juris canonici...xx^s." But the payment is erased, and does not occur again, being doubtless recorded in some other book of accounts now lost. It might therefore be thought that the sum of xl^s allotted to Mr Ottley in 1476-7 had nothing to do with the chaplain-librarian's stipend; but at the end of Grace Book B (p. 251) there occurs the assignment of a similar sum—and the record in this case is detailed: "*Item soluitur Magistro Hostibie capellano uniuersitatis pro cathedra juris canonici quia hoc anno (1510) non erat doctor tenens illam cathedram...xl^s."* The reason here assigned for the payment on this occasion from the public University funds suggests that the 1477 entry was made under similar conditions, and that Mr Ottley was the chaplain-librarian at that date. And this

¹ See below, pp. 30 and 60.

supposition is confirmed by another reference to that official—also unusual in form. On page 112 (1475–6) we read, “*M^d. quod magister otteley fecit compotum suum de vj^s iiij^d quam summam recepit pro libris venditis in tempore songer¹ et deoneratur.*” It has been noted already, and we shall note again later on, “the unyuersyte Chaplen *hys acownte*” was a marked part of his duty. Mr Ottley’s name may thus undoubtedly be added to our list of University Chaplains. He had served the office of junior proctor in 1472–3.

Yet another name is suggested by the entry on page 199 of Grace Book A, “*Item magistro willelmo tomsun pro portacione crucis in processionibus generalibus...ij^s.*” And similarly, in Grace Book B, p. 29, we read, “*Item soluti Magistro Thomson pro baiulacione crucifixi...xij^d.*” On a previous page (22) of the same volume we have a curious entry by the senior proctor, Walter Redmayn (1489): “*Item solui magistro medkalff...xii^d; quos soluit magistro tomson pro scolis determinatoris ahsley².*” In the section on the chaplain’s salary we shall see that one special source of that income was a payment by every Bachelor of Arts of the sum of twelve pence. The entries which we have just quoted enable us therefore to enrol Mr William Thomson among the chaplains of the University. He was a fellow of Michael House and had been senior proctor in 1480–1. His name appears on many occasions in the records, even after his appointment as Dean of Auckland. In the year 1505, for instance, we are told that he gave a sum of money to the University, as well as a similar amount from a friend “*qui nult nosci.*” But the most interesting of his gifts were connected with the office of chaplain; for we learn from an inventory of the property in the chapel vestry, printed below,

¹ Ralph Songer, of Queens’, was senior proctor two years before, and with Richard Cockerham compiled the catalogue of books in the Library and the description of the University Cross referred to on the preceding page.

² Grace Book A, p. 226.

³ Mr Thomas Metcalf was the senior proctor of the preceding year. There seems to have been considerable difficulty in obtaining the fees which should have been paid by Ashley on taking his bachelor’s degree; for we read, three years later, the following entry: “*Item pro missale cum altero libro ex debito vniuersitatis pro determinacione ascheley.*” (Grace Book B i., p. 87.)

that he was the donor of the silver candlesticks and of other "jewelles" pertaining to the post which he formerly held.

Now that we are dealing with the second Grace Book we are on surer ground, for the next chaplain is distinctly and frequently mentioned by name and position. And yet even in this case the official is not named in connection with his University post in the ordinary list of graces and fees. It is as administrator of a certain fund that we come across him. In 1494, Thomas Barrow, LL.D., archdeacon of Colchester, was enrolled among the benefactors of the University. He gave the sum of £240¹, part of which was to be laid out upon the repairs of the Church of St Mary the Great and part (£80) in the purchase of a tenement, &c., the rents of which were to be expended at Dr Barrow's obit. In Grace Book B, from the year 1496 onwards, we find with a few exceptions an annual "Computus Capellani universitatis pro receptis ex tenementis M. thomæ Barowe Doctoris." The Chaplain's name is not recorded in 1496; but in the following year we read, "Computus Magistri Chapell Capellani universitatis pro quadam firma tenementi dati universitati pro Exequiis Magistri barowe et ejus benefactorum." Interesting and detailed particulars² are given of the yearly expenditure; but we can only here mention that a small grant was made annually to our official

¹ Caius, *Hist. Cant. Acad.*, i. 90, says: "His ecclesiæ tectum et fenestræ confectæ sunt, prætereaque emptæ universitati possessiones annui proventus quatuor librarum in certos universitatis usus, per bibliothecæ custodem, et universitatis sacellanum annuatim expendendarum." In connection with the salary of the chaplain a quotation will be made later on (p. 42) showing a detailed account of the rents arising from the investments, and of the expenditure thereof. And this expenditure is annually recorded in the Grace Book as mentioned in the text. Buck (p. 12) says the £80 was applied in purchasing "certas terras et tenementa circiter valorem quatuor librarum infra villam sive burgum Cantabrigiæ."

² How detailed these accounts were may be seen from the following entry (p. 215): "Item in potu recepiendo pecunias ab eadem (Relicta Neell)...j^d"; and from the sum total at the conclusion of Ostaby's first computus. At the previous audit we read (p. 252), "et sic remanet in bursa Magistri barow post computum iij^l xix^s v^d." In 1511 (p. 256), we begin: "Summa Receptorum iij^l xv^j viij^d." Then follow details thus added up: "Summa expensarum et allocacionum iij^l xij^s iij^d; petit computans pro suis laboribus iij^l iij^d; solvit j^d et sic ponit in bursa iij^l xix^s vj^d." And so precisely ends Part 1. of Grace Book B!

for his pains in administering the estate ("Item predicto Capellano pro suo labore iij^s. iiij^d."). The obit-day was October 21st; but as the services were held in Great St Mary's Church, and not in the New Chapel, we need not further allude to the trust or to the audit. As we have pointed out, however, we have now come across the name of another of our chaplains, Robert Chapell, who took his bachelor's degree in arts in 1488, was elected a fellow of his college (Peterhouse) on May 23rd, 1490, and proceeded M.A. in the following year. We do not know the date of his appointment to the University office; but, as we have seen, his name first occurs as Chaplain in the Barrow audit in the year 1497. He commenced D.D. in 1507, and that is the last year in which his name occurs in the annual *computus*. The Register of Peterhouse tells us that John Crane was elected fellow in the place of Robert Chapell on June 16th, 1512; in which year John Ostaby is named as Chaplain in the Barrow audit. Whether Dr Chapell retained the University post until Mr Ostaby was appointed we do not know. During the years 1508-10 Miles Bickerdyke, the junior proctor of the succeeding year, presented the accounts of the Barrow fund; but although Wren speaks of him as the chaplain he does not so style himself, as Dr Chapell had always been careful to do. He records the customary fee—"Item Capellano universitatis...iij^s. iiij^d."; indeed in 1509 he duplicates this payment, though, doubtless to balance matters, he omits it in 1510. At the next audit (1511) John Ostaby's name occurs as *computans*, and in the proctors' accounts for that year he is incidentally mentioned as "Magister Hostibie capellanus universitatis." This it may be noted is the first occasion in the Grace Books on which the chaplain is referred to by name and by office. We perhaps get a glimpse of his duties as Librarian in an entry in Grace Book B, under date 1514, when Dr Schyrton was allowed to borrow a book from the Library, "pro quo posuit cautionem in manibus Magistri Ostaby." Again, the same Grace Book thus alludes to him as Barrow trustee in 1518: "Summa totalis in cista communi ccxxiiij^l x^s x^d ob. preter summam computus Magistri Astrobye viz. lv^s j^d." Ostaby, who was elected a fellow of Pembroke in

1498, took his M.A. in 1501, and his B.D. in 1509. His name is included in the first group of University Preachers appointed in the year 1505. On the resignation of Robert Fawliatt, vicar of Tilney—an incumbency in the patronage of Pembroke—John Ostaby was appointed to succeed him in the year 1519 or thereabouts. The retiring vicar received a pension, and either owing to this fact or to some college appointment Ostaby is still found in Cambridge for two or three years longer, and perhaps retained the chaplainship during that period. Indeed the most curious incident in connection with his University duties is recorded in Grace Book B under date 1520. This will be described in the section dealing with the Chaplain as “Keeper of the Schools,” see page 29.

John Ostaby's successor was the celebrated Hugh Latimer, who is first mentioned in connection with the office in 1522; when we find records of the following payments: “Item Magistro Lattymer pro clavibus ac emendatione serarum in scolis publicis...xxij^d; xxii^d; xiii^d.” These entries remind us that the chaplain was the keeper of the University Schools and show how vigorously Latimer performed the requirements of his office. In the same year (1522) we are further reminded of this side of his duties by a reference to another of the functions which pertained to the chaplain: “Item, to the Clarke of the Scollys for beryng of the Universte Crosse twys at the Kyngs beyng heyr, and in advent, and at the Grett Cessaycion...xvj^d.” In the September of 1524 a nuncio of the Pope arrived in Cambridge and was received with every mark of respect by the University; various payments were made on this occasion—amongst them “to the Berer of the Unyversyte Cros at hys beyng here.” There is a tradition that Latimer was not only the keeper of the Cross, but that he was himself the bearer of it on various occasions. Fuller, for instance, speaks of “Mr Hugh Latimer, of Christ's College¹, the Cross-keeper of the University; which he solemnly brought forth on procession-days.” Strype, in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (III. i. 368), quotes (from a MS. by Ralph Morice, one of Archbishop

¹ This is a mistake; Latimer was a fellow of Clare, being elected when he was still a *questionist*.

Cranmer's secretaries) a statement that Latimer was "for his gravity and years¹ preferred to the keeping of the University cross, which no man had to do withal, but such an one as in sanctity of life excelled other." A special section will be devoted to the subject of the University Cross; so that we may pass on now to other references to Hugh Latimer as Chaplain. Turning to the records of the Barrow Trust we find the following entry: "Audito compoto Magistri lathemer pro tribus annis finitis ad Festum Michaelis anno Domini M^o 523 per Johannem Edmundes vicecancellarium, doctorem grene W[ill.] sowd Johannem smyth in theologia bachalarios, remanet in Bursa communi xxxⁱⁱ ix^s x^d." It is interesting to note that in the year 1528 Thomas Cranmer was one of the auditors of Latimer's *computus*. Considerable repairs were, under Latimer's direction, carried out in connection with the Barrow tenements about this period, and the auditors of the common chest reported that only 49s. 4d. remained in the Barrow purse in 1526. In the year 1528 (as well as in 1525) we read among the proctors' records, "Item magistro Latamore pro salario suo...xl^s." This doubtless refers to the payment due from the Canon Law Schools, as already noted on page 10. Latimer resigned the chaplaincy soon afterwards, having held the post for some seven years. We cannot here relate the change of opinion as to religious views and ceremonies which he had undergone during this period, nor refer to his preaching and teaching further than to remark that he had been appointed one of the University preachers in the year 1523.

Nicholas Heath succeeded Latimer as Chaplain of the University in the year 1529; and between these two distinguished men there were various points of tangency. Latimer is said (though Dr Peile surrenders the claim) to have been at one time a member of Christ's; Heath was certainly for two or three years (1521-4) a fellow of that college. Latimer, as we have noted, was a fellow of Clare; Heath in 1524 left his fellowship at Christ's for one at Clare. In later times (1543) Heath succeeded Latimer as Bishop of Worcester. And, to

¹ This tradition has a bearing upon the question of the date of Latimer's birth.

² Grace Book B (11.), p. 111.

come back to our subject, Heath followed Latimer in the Cambridge Chaplaincy. When we pass from official positions to views and opinions, we come to dissimilarities; for Nicholas Heath was an upholder of the Roman aspect of religious questions. In the times of Edward VI he suffered deprivation; but, being committed to the custody of Bishop Ridley, he was "treated with extraordinary kindness." In the reign of Mary he was advanced to the Archbishopric of York and was appointed Lord Chancellor of England; but he did not show courtesy to his old Cambridge friends and contemporaries. He signed the death-warrant of his former patron Cranmer; and, being in Oxford when Ridley was imprisoned there, he did not visit the friend who had treated him with such kindness. It is claimed for him that at certain crises in his life he showed moderation and good sense; but it stands recorded that "while he held the Great Seal no fewer than 217 persons were put to death for their religion." Though his conduct after the coronation of Elizabeth might have endangered the peace of the realm, he was after a while allowed to retire to the estate he had acquired in Surrey, and to hand on in security to his relatives those large possessions.

To return to his occupancy of the Chaplaincy of Cambridge, we find the following entry in Grace Book B, under date 1529-30: "*audito computo Magistri heth pro anno superdicto finiente ad festum Michaelis compertum est per auditores prædictos remanere in bursa xxvij^s viij^d.*" A similar entry occurs in the next year. In 1530, and in the two succeeding years, Grace Book B also chronicles payments from the Canon Law Schools; *e.g.*: "1531. Item Magistro Hethe Sacellano universitatis ex cathedra juris canonici...xl^s." In 1532 the payment was made to Dr Thirleby "pro magistro Heythe." The names thus linked in the Cambridge register were afterwards associated in Church and State, when Thirleby was first and last Bishop of Westminster, and when he was transferred to other sees.

To the great names of Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Heath succeeded the greater name of Nicholas Ridley. The affectionate and pathetic words, with which this distinguished

prelate referred to his occupancy of the chaplaincy, have already been given.

Ridley's appointment is recorded in the following terms in Grace Book I, under date 1531-2: "Granted unto Mr Rydley of Pembroke Hall by the more part of Regents and non-Regents in a privy-Scrutiny, that he shall use, occupy, and enjoy the office of the Chaplenshype now vacant at the avoiding and departure of Master Nicholas Hethe, late Fellow of Clare Hall." A Grace was also passed "empowering the vice-chancellor, the Doctors and Presidents of the Colleges with the Proctors to devyse and make an ordynance for the Chaplen of the University—what shall be his Duty and charge, how long he may hold it—and that he that is now chose shall promise by oath, that he shall fulfill such ordinance."

During the next few years there are several allusions in the University registers to Ridley's chaplaincy. Thus, in 1532-3, we find the following payments, "Item to Mr Rydley for y^e canon chayre, xl^s." On October 29th of the same year we read in Mere's Diary¹ that "the vnyuersyte Chaplen makythe hys acownte allso that day and givythe euery of the audytours a grote for ther paynes." This doubtless refers to the general account which the Chaplain was required by statute to render annually. It is not to be confounded with the Barrow *computus*, which was (as we have seen) a duty added to the labours of the Sacellanus. Such a *computus*, by the bye, is noted to have been presented by Ridley in the year 1536; when we read in Grace Book B (II), "audito magistri Ridley pro anno supra-dicto finito ad festum Michaelis compertum est per auditores remanere in bursa que bursa est in manu computantis...ij^s v^d." We thus see that the Chaplain, now that so small a balance remained, retained the Barrow purse in his own possession, instead of depositing it in the Common Chest, as in former days.

The Grace Books also tell us that in 1534 and 1535 the sum of forty shillings was paid each year "Magistro Rydleio Sacellano universitatis." It may be remarked that Ridley was senior proctor in the year 1532-3; and indeed for some years he was specially active in various University affairs. Wren

¹ See Grace Book A, p. 226.

says that he retained the office of chaplain for three years¹; but we have seen that there is definite record of his service during a longer period than that. How long he held the appointment is not known; nor is it certain that anyone filled the post during the next few years. During the changes, academical and religious, of this decade, there was perhaps a vacancy for a while.

We must pass on² till, in the year 1545-6, we read in a University Grace:

Conceditur ut Magistri Swynborne et Langdale, una cum Proctoribus, habeant vestram auctoritatem perquirendi inter monumenta universitatis fundationem Capellani vestri, et etiam exhibendi commissariis, una cum omnibus aliis ordinationibus ad eandem fundationem quovis modo pertinentibus.

Alban Langdale, who was a fellow of St John's and was a keen upholder of Roman Catholic doctrines, himself held the office of University Chaplain at this period; though being also chaplain to Anthony, Viscount Montagu, he was often absent from Cambridge. In 1552-3 the following Grace was passed:

Conceditur ut Magister Langdale diu jam ab Achademia absens possit gaudere munere et stipendio Capellani Achademiæ usque ad Festum Michaelis prox. futurum, quod si tamen ad Achademiam redire recusaverit, in vestra potestate erit, de hoc toto munere pro vestro arbitratu statuere.

Throughout the reign of Edward the Sixth, Langdale presented the Barrow accounts. Early in the reign of Queen Mary, two graces were passed with reference to Alban Langdale, the first "ad incipiendum in sacra Theologia," while the second reads: "et quum jam hero suo inserviens diutius abesse non permittitur, quandocunque venerit admittatur." Shortly after this Dr Langdale was succeeded by John Dale, a fellow of Queens'.

¹ M. Wren *Lives* (Pemb. Coll. MSS. penes magistrum).

² Wren and others have spoken of Doctor Wolman and Mr Williams as University Chaplains at about this period; but the statement is a mistake arising from a misunderstanding of the records which describe the establishment by Dr Wolman's executor of an "Exhibition of a scolar here in Cambridge by y^e space of seven yere." See Grace Book B (n) under date 1537-8; and subsequent payments "Mro Wylliams capellano Doctoris Wolman."

His appointment is thus recorded in the Grace Book, under date 1553-4 :

Conceditur ut Magister Dale sit Sacellanus Academix et custos crucis vestræ autoritate.

Mr Dale only held the office for some two years, and the chief reference found concerning him in the Grace Books is an allusion to his disposition of some of the Chaplaincy funds.

In 1555-6 the following Grace tells of his successor :

Conceditur Magistro Stoks Collegii Reginalis ut sit Sacellanus Achademix vice et loco Magistri Dale.

John Stokes¹, who was a fellow of Queens' at his appointment, seems to have retained the University Chaplaincy when he became president of his college in 1560. Nor does he appear to have resigned the post when he was Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1565-6. From 1556 to his death in 1568, we find frequent mention of his presentation of the Barrow accounts, as well as of a similar trust, that in memory of John Mere, to which reference will be made later on.

With Dr John Stokes the office of Chaplain of the University seems to have come to an end ; for though Christopher Lindley has been spoken of as holding the post in the year after Stokes's death, yet the statement doubtless arose from the fact that the Barrow accounts were in that year (1569) compiled by Lindley, who had probably been appointed to supervise those funds as being the proctor at the time of the death of the last Chaplain.

The erasure of the name of *Sacellanus* from the list of University officers meant not only the cessation of certain functions ; but the transference to other ministers of such duties, formerly performed by the Chaplain, as were not abolished with the completion of the Reformation. These functions and duties will be considered in detail in the next chapter.

¹ John Stokes, D.D., of Queens' College (where a brass to his memory may still be seen) must not be confused with John Stokes, D.D., of King's College (where also is preserved a memorial brass). The latter was Public Orator, when his namesake was University Chaplain. Nor must either of them be mistaken for John Stokes, D.D., prior of the Augustinian house at Cambridge at a slightly earlier date.

CHAPTER II.

THE DUTIES OF THE CHAPLAIN.

It has been already remarked that the duties of the old Capellanus were very varied. From the Ordinances of Cardinal Pole, a statute enumerating these functions was quoted in the opening chapter. It was there pointed out that, in addition to his obligation as Chaplain to take care of obits and recite the names of benefactors, he was required to collect and distribute what they left for that purpose. He also had charge of the sacred vessels, robes and books belonging to the New Chapel, and was bound to present a yearly account of these properties. Caius thus describes these functions¹ :

Sacellani munus est, in summa scholarum fræquentia, singulis terminis recitare, omnium benefactorum universitatis nomina et cognomina (legendibus adhuc magistris) et honestam de eis mentionem facere, atque etiam pro eis orare, res sacras, et sacelli ornamenta curare.

The Chaplain was also the Keeper of the University Cross; he had charge of the Public Schools; and he likewise acted as Librarian.

Each of these duties will now be treated in detail.

i. OBIT KEEPER.

The primary duty of the Chaplain was to keep the obit of Nigel de Thornton, the physician, "de cujus bonis sustentatur Capellanus Universitatis, pro ejus anima specialiter celebraturus." When the office was given new life in the reign of Queen Mary, the ordinance of Cardinal Pole which referred to the Sacellanus opened with the words: "Capellanus Universitatis

¹ *Hist. Cant. Acad.*, p. 129.

debito ad quod juxta institutum magistri Nigelli de Thornton capellani fundatoris tenetur satisfaciatur." But so much has been already said with reference to the doctor's foundation, that we may pass on to notice other benefactors whose names the Chaplain was bound to recite. Many of the exequies were held in Great St Mary's Church, and at such services the presence of the Sacellanus Universitatis may not have been required. But others were definitely ordered to be observed in the New Chapel in the Divinity Schools, which was specially under the charge of the Chaplain. Thus, in Statute 180, we read :

Item singulis annis convenient singuli regentes xxii^o die mensis Novembris in capella universitatis exequias cum missa psallituri pro animabus dominorum Thomæ More¹ quondam decani ecclesiæ cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londini et Johannis Preston ejusdem ecclesiæ canonici².

So in the following document, dated 20 June, 1398, which appears as Statute 184, *De exequiis Willelmi de Thorpe*, we read :

Omnibus Christi fidelibus præsentes literas inspecturis nos Eudo la Zouche legum doctor et cancellarius universitatis Cantabrigiensis ad perpetuam rei memoriam notum facimus per præsentes quod, cum dominus Jacobus de Roos miles, Johannes Pechel rector ecclesiæ Sancti Andree de Histon, et Henricus Hammond, executores testamenti bonæ memoriæ domini Willelmi de Thorpe militis, scholas theologorum cum capella pro animabus dicti Willelmi et dominæ Gratiæ consortis suæ ad Dei honorem incrementum studii et universitatis profectum fecerunt solenniter ædificari ... nostra autoritate ac totius universitatis prædictæ tam regentium quam non-regentium statuimus promittimus ac ad infra scripta nos successoresque nostros firmiter obligamus quod singulis annis secundo non. Maii cancellarius prædictæ universitatis, qui pro tempore fuerit, et singuli regentes in capella prædicta convenient exequias solenniter celebraturi pro anima Willelmi prædicti, cum missa in crastino, viz. cum diacono et subdiacono. Item statuimus et ordinamus quod singulis annis xix die mensis Novembris

¹ Thomas Moore, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, died in 1421. He had been a fellow of Pembroke, of which college he was a benefactor. John Preston, a prebendary of St Paul's, was the senior executor of the dean's will. In the old list of University benefactors preserved in Matthew Stokes's Book, the name of Sir Richard "Wytington, civis et Aldermannus Londoniensis" is recorded with those of Moore and Preston. In the metropolitan cathedral Moore founded a chantry and Sir Richard Whittington a chapel.

² *Commiss. Doc.*, i. 407.

per prædictum cancellarium regentesque prædictæ universitatis fiant exequiæ pro anima dominæ Gratia consortis prædicti domini Willelmi cum missa in crastino et sollemnitate superius annotata, etc.¹

Sir Robert Thorpe, probably master² of Pembroke College from 1347–1364, who succeeded William of Wykeham as Lord Chancellor of England, had begun the building of the Public Schools; which we are here informed were completed—as far as regards the Divinity School *together with the Chapel*—by the executors of his brother Sir William. The University, therefore, out of gratitude to these benefactors, ordered the annual celebration of obsequies in memory of Sir William and his wife Grace in the New Chapel. Accordingly, until the time of the Reformation, these obits were observed; witness such a payment to the Chaplain as the following, dated 1544, “Item celebranti in exequiis Magistri Thorp...iv⁴.”

A document similar to the above, also enrolled among the Statutes (no. 186), must be quoted:

Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus præsentis literas inspecturis nos Thomas Stoye sacre theologiæ professor, vice-cancellarius universitatis Cantabrigiensiæ coetusque unanimis magistrorum regentium et non-regentium in eadem salutem in omnium Salvatore....Hinc est quod...reverendus in Christo pater ac dominus dominus Thomas Rotheram divina miseratione Lincolniensis episcopus ac magnus Angliæ generalis hujusque almæ universitatis præcipuus dignusque cancellarius et singularis patronus tum in honorem Dei, incrementum studii, et universitatis nostræ profectum, scholas novamque superius librariam polito lapide, sumptuosa pompa, ac dignis ædificiis perfecit, eamque, omnibus ut decuit rebus exornatam, non paucis vel vilibus libris opulentam reddidit, plurimaque insuper alia bona eidem universitati procuravit; ideoque nos antedictus vice-cancellarius coetusque magistrorum universitatis præfatæ, prædicta considerantes suamque munificentiam cum gratiarum actione amplectentes, eidem reverendo domino spiritualium retributionem, ut possumus, impendere cupientes, decrevimus eundem venerabilem patrem inter primos benefactores universitatis nostræ perpetuo statuendum, et quod nomen ejusdem inter nomina benefactorum nostrorum scribatur, ut annis singulis per sacerdotem, singulas scholas magistrorum visitantem ad orandum pro benefactoribus universitatis, specialiter recitetur. Insuper ordinamus et statuimus, nos ac successores nostros in perpetuum obligantes, quod singulis annis, dum præfatus pater vixerit, post festum Paschæ die quo

¹ *Commis. Doc.*, i. 411.

² Dr Ainslie held that Thorpe, the Master of Pembroke, was not identical with Thorpe, the Lord Chancellor (see Mullinger, *Univ. of Camb.*, i. p. 373).

magistri lectiones suas actualiter resument, fiat una missa cum diacono et subdiacono quæ pro salubri incolumitate status ac personæ episcoporum universorum solet celebrari, et, postquam prædictus pater ab hac luce migraverit, habeat exequias, et missam in crastino solennem quæ pro episcopis mortuis celebrari solet, die quem ipse pater vel alius nomine ejus assignabit.

This concession was granted and sealed with the seal of the University and of the Chancellor on May 13th, 1475. It is here quoted, almost at length, not only because it tells of solemn University duties which would annually fall to the lot of the Sacellanus, in connection with the commemoration of the benefactor, Archbishop Rotheram; but also because it was enacted during the vice-chancellorship of Dr Thomas Stoye, who was himself (as we have seen) a distinguished holder of the post of Chaplain, and who indeed probably had but lately retired from the office. Hence we can understand how eagerly he would chronicle the gifts to Schools and Library referred to in this eulogy of his friend Archbishop Rotheram. A further reason for the quotation of this decree is that it alludes to another special function pertaining to the Chaplain, that of an annual visitation of each school of the masters, to recite the names of the benefactors, and to remember them in prayer. For the *Sacerdos* mentioned in this statute was doubtless the Capellanus Universitatis.

After the time of the Reformation, though honoured names were not forgotten, it was not thought proper—in commemorating a University benefactor—"to kepe a dirige and masse of requiem for his soule." But, before describing the changes carried out at that period, the other functions of the Chaplain must be referred to.

ii. KEEPER OF THE NEW CHAPEL.

The Chaplain had (as we shall see) a general oversight of the University Buildings, and naturally that included a special supervision of the *Nova Capella*, above the Divinity Schools. Particularly it was his duty to take care of "res sacras et sacelli ornamenta." Cardinal Pole's ordinance said :

Idemque Capellanus...crucem universitatis in processionibus portet... nec non tam crucis quam calicum et aliorum vasorum et indumentorum ac librorum ad res divinas pertinentium curam gerat de quibus habeat indenturam et reddat singulis annis rationem computo suo diligenter providendo ut omnia hæc integra ac munda et nitida teneantur et admonendo vice-cancellarium et procuratores de his quæ ad divinum cultum sunt necessaria emendis et procurandis.

His duties as *Custos Crucis* will be considered in another section; and a list of the various sacred vessels, vestments and books—as gathered from inventories and allusions in the University accounts—will also be given later on. The Grace Books teem with payments made in connection with repairs to the fabric or the furniture of the New Chapel or Regent House. We have seen, for instance, how vigorous Latimer was in the first year of his chaplaincy in mending locks and supplying keys. And numerous instances might be given of similar careful supervision.

iii. KEEPER OF THE UNIVERSITY CROSS.

Another interesting duty that fell to the lot of the Chaplain arose from his being *Custos Crucis*—"the Cross-keeper of the University, which he solemnly brought forth on procession-days." A description of "the great Cross of Silver" will be given in the section devoted to the ornaments of the New Chapel; and an account of its sale in the days of Edward VI, of the new cross which replaced it in Queen Mary's time, and yet again of the disposal of the substitute when Elizabeth succeeded her sister, will be recorded in the chapter which details the changes at the Reformation epoch. On State occasions the University Cross figured very prominently. In Ashmole's account¹, for instance, of the visit paid by King Henry VII to Cambridge on April 22nd, 1506, we read:

As he approached nere the Unyversyte, within a quarter of a mylle, ther stode, first all the four Ordres of Freres, and aftir odir Religious, and the King on Horsbacke kyssed the Crosse of everyche of the Religious, and then ther stode all along, all the Graduatts, aftir their Degrees, in all their Habbitts, and at the end of them was the Unyversyte Cross, wher was a Forne and a Cushin &c. as accustomed, where the

¹ *Order of the Garter*, p. 558.

Kyng dyd alight, and there the Byshopp of Rochestre, Doctor [Fisher] then beyng Chauncellor of the Unyversyte, accompanied with odir Doctors, sensyd &c. the Kyng, and aftir made a litle Proposition, and welcomed hym, &c.

So, when Henry VIII visited the University in 1522, we read—among other expenses paid in connection with “the Kyngs comynge, and the maner of his receyvynge”: “Item, to the Clarke of the Scollys for beryng of the Unyversyte Crosse twys at the Kyngs beyng heyr [and on two other occasions]... xvi^d.”

Of course in most of the distinctly religious services and processions, as well as at the visits of distinguished ecclesiastics and commissioners, the cross was in evidence, and frequent mention is made in the university accounts of payment “pro baiulacione crucis.” Thus, in the year 1485, Grace Book A (p. 199) notes: “Item magistro willelmo tomsun pro portacione crucis in processionibus generalibus...ij^s”; in 1515, a later Grace Book records: “Magistro Hostibe pro Bajulacione crucis pro anno elapso...vj^s viij^d.” Again, in 1524, at the visit of “the Popys Messenger,” payment was made “to the Berer of the Unyversyte Cros at hys beyng here...iv^d”; and so in Mere’s account¹ of Queen Mary’s Visitation, the Commissioners were often “receyved processionaliter with the universitie Cross.” One entry in the Diary may be given more fully:

xi Januar. (1557). On Munday a lyttle mysling but wetted lyttle. It. at vii the Vyc. with all the hole universitie in habitibus met in St Mary’s and the Scholers had no surplusses as it was proposyd, from thence all wente to trinitie College and thuniversity Crosse before them, and in the gate-howse a forme set and covered with cushyns and carpet on the grownd for the Vysytors, where the Vic. having on our tissew Cope sprynkled holy water on them and proposed to sense them but they refused it &c.

It will be noticed, in two of the quotations just made, that the names of the Chaplains are given to whom the payments were made, Mr William Thompson and Mr John Ostaby. This brings us back to the heading of this section. It will be remembered that Pole’s Ordinance states:

¹ See Lamb’s *Documents from the MS. Library of C.C.C.*, p. 200.

Idemque capellanus per se vel aliam honestam personam habitu clericali et superpellicio indutam crucem universitatis in processionibus portet et...crucis...curam gerat &c.

Here it will be seen that the Chaplain is spoken of, not only as the Custos Crucis, but also as bearer of the same, or at least as being responsible for the carrying of it. The actual *Baiulator Crucis* was, at least at general processions, a Master in Grammar who had recently incepted. Statute 117, *De Inceptoris in Grammatica*, finishes with this sentence:

Volumus etiam quod singulis processionibus generalibus infra annum suæ lecture contingentibus coram universitate signum bajulet crucifixi vel per alium idoneum scholarem deportari faciet iudicio procuratorum admittendum¹.

In connection with this regulation we find certain entries in the earlier Grace Books; e.g. in Grace Book A, pages 165, 166, there are marginal notes opposite the names of two inceptors in grammar, Benet and Sickling, with the words: "debet pro baiulacione crucis...xx^d"; and in Grace Book B (1), p. 253, the proctors (1510) received: "Item de inceptore in grammatica pro baiulacione crucis universitatis anno futuro... xii^d"; from which we gather that Mr Austin, whose name appears in 1511 as incepting in grammar, had to pay 12*d.* as a penalty for not carrying the cross during his year of regency according to the statute. It will be noticed that this statute only requires the grammar-master to be cross-bearer "at each general procession happening within the year of his lecture." Who carried it in the years when there was no inceptor in grammar, or at other processions than the general processions, we do not know. The payments are generally made to the Chaplain, who by his office was responsible, or to the bedells, who were often handy-men for various purposes. Once a talkative proctor—the said Mr Sickling who is named above—tells us that one Richard Littleborough was twice paid for acting as *Portator Crucis* in the year 1501; but nothing is known of this individual.

¹ *Commiss. Doc.*, i. 374.

iv. CAPELLANUS COMPUTANS.

A duty, which was always attached to the Chaplainship, but which was in the later years of the office considerably widened, was that of presenting an annual *computus*. To quote again from Cardinal Pole's directions:—after reference to the various ornaments, &c., in the *nova capella*, we read: “de quibus habeat indenturam et reddat singulis annis rationem computo suo, &c.” There follows a list of penalties attached to the non-fulfilment of this duty.

It is evident from the wording of the pleas and indentures in the old records concerning the Thornton trust, that the Chaplain was expected to manage the property connected with the original foundation; and accordingly we do not find in the proctors' yearly accounts any reference to the income derived therefrom.

The Capellanus presented his annual *computus* in the Michaelmas term near the beginning of each academical year. Thus in Mere's Diary, inserted in Grace Book A, we read: “The morow after Symon and Judes day...was the proctors acownte gyven at xij a clocke...the unyuersyte Chaplen makythe hys acownte allso that day and givythe euery of the audytours a grote for ther paynes¹.” This was in the year 1533, when both the “acowntes” referred to must have been presented by Nicholas Ridley, who was the retiring senior proctor as well as the Chaplain. In the report of Queen Mary's Visitation, under date November 26th, 1556, John Mere writes: “It. the cownte of the common hutche at one. Whene M^r Maptyt and Parker and Swynborne subscrybed to Mr Barkys acownte, and ellse nothyng fynished, but only the chaplyns acownte².” This was the first *computus* rendered by John Stokes, of Queens' College, who was the last of the long line of Chaplains.

In addition to the yearly account required of the Chaplain in connection with his original foundation and with the furniture, &c., of the New Chapel, there was an annual “*Computus Capellani Universitatis pro receptis ex tenementis D. Barowe*.” Archdeacon Barrow was a faithful son of the University, who, as has already been noted, was a liberal benefactor to Great

¹ Grace Book A, p. 226.

² Lamb's *Documents*, *ut supra*, p. 184.

St Mary's Church. Caius (*Hist.* p. 90) thus chronicles his gift: "His ecclesiæ tectum et fenestræ confectæ sunt, prætereaque emptæ universitati possessiones annui proventus 4 librarum in certos universitatis usus, per bibliothecæ custodem, et universitatis sacellarium, annuatim expendendarum." The Librarian-Chaplain presented an account of the Barrow trust yearly about the 21st of October, and an abstract of the same was for many years inserted annually in the proctors' register, from 1496 onwards—Dr Barrow having given his benefaction a year or two previously to that date.

Similarly, the supervisors of the will of John Mere, the Bedell, who died on April 13th, 1558, covenanted¹ with the University for an annual sermon in St Bene't's Church. Sums of money were apportioned to various persons and charities, "at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor or Chaplyn of the University for the time being; who shall have for his pains in receiving the yearly Rent and making this distribution 2s." Dr Stokes, the Chaplain, managed the Mere trust until his death in 1568.

V. KEEPER OF THE SCHOOLS.

While the Chaplain had special duties with reference to the New Chapel, he had also a general supervision of the Public Schools. "Capellanus...curet ut suus famulus pernoctet in scholis vel diligenter singulis diebus attendat ne quis ibi noctu remaneat utque ante solis occasum claudat scholarum ostia eaque tempore congruo aperiat²." The *famulus* here mentioned is often referred to in the University accounts; for instance in Grace Book B (1) he is called "puer custodiens scholas" (p. 121); his room is mentioned: "Item, pro emendacione camini in camera custodis scholarum" (p. 158); "Item soluitur pro hamo ferreo cuiusdam fenestre in camera custodientis scholas" (p. 120). It is called *insula* (p. 105), *ceptus* (p. 44), and *latesse* (p. 250). It was perhaps situate at the west end of the Divinity School, or under the staircase at the south-west of this ground-floor room; see the entry on page 185, "Item pro cera ad domunculam in fine scholarum theologie."

¹ See Masters's *History of C.C.C.*, Appendix, pp. 46 and 47.

² See Pole *ut ante*, p. 2.

Whether the Chaplain, as keeper of the Schools, by his deputy or personally, had to ring the Schools' Bell on occasions is not certain. The bedells, we are told in Statute 72, were responsible for the ringing of the bells before certain academical exercises; while another statute, no. 106, is headed: "*De satisfaciendo clerico pro insinuatione horarum*," and has reference to the payment of the clerk who rang the bells for law lectures after dinner. It will be remembered that the Chaplain was sometimes called "the Clarke of the Scollys" (see page 25). Doubtless also the bell was rung at the celebration of mass and at other ceremonies performed in the New Chapel.

In connection with the Chaplain's responsibility as to the supervision of the schools, there are two very curious entries in Grace Book B(II) under date 1519-20: "*Item solui preconi keell pro reparacione cuiusdam domicilii in scolis publicis nescio quorum incuria combusti...xij^s viij^d*"; "*Magister Ostyby de aula pembrok debet xx^s pro incendio cuiusdam domus in comunibus scolis*." Mr Ostaby, the Chaplain, is here apparently fined somewhat heavily on account of the fire which had occurred in the buildings under his charge. It will be noticed that the sum, which he naturally objected to pay, exceeded the amount which the proctor paid for repairs to that useful handyman John Keel, the carpenter and crier.

vi. KEEPER OF THE LIBRARY.

The Chaplain held yet another most important post; he was *Custos Librariæ*. "*Idemque Capellanus...bibliothecæ academiciæ...curam gerat*." We have seen that when the Barrow trust was formed, it was to be administered by the Chaplain; and Caius, describing the benefaction, tells us that the income was to be expended "*per bibliothecæ custodem et universitatis sacellanum*." Dr Stoye, the first Chaplain after the time of the existing official accounts, is several times mentioned as careful of the books under his charge. To him, doubtless, the University is indebted in part for the repeated donation of volumes to the Library by Archbishop Rotherham, a lifelong

friend of Dr Stoyale. And that Librarian-Chaplain himself was one of the earliest donors of printed books to the University collection.

In 1438, when the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge petitioned Henry VI to grant them the manor of Ruyslep in the county of Middlesex, the King granted their petition "in aid of the support of a common library, and of chaplains celebrating mass in their beautiful chapel, &c.¹" The same conjunction of the Library and the Chaplains occurs in a similar grant of the manors of Great and Little Okebourne in the following year.

Next may be quoted a statement appended to the Inventory of 1473-74, referred to above (p. 10): "Qui quidem libri omnes ac singuli cum cruce et eidem pertinenciis per procuratores supradictos eidem Magistro Johanni Ocley traditi sunt die et anno domini supradictis et anno regni regis Eduardi quarti post conquestum Anglie terciodecimo." A modern copier of this note had added: "As John Otley or Ocley was Proctor for the Academical year beginning 1 October, 1472, this note about the Cross must belong to that year, and does not form part of the Inventory dated 1473, though I suspect it was written by the same scribe." This commentator quite misunderstands the situation. The books and the cross were delivered to John Ottley not as proctor, but (see page 10) as Chaplain, Librarian, and Keeper of the University Cross.

It is interesting to notice that at Oxford² also, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Chaplain of the University had charge of the Library.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i. 187.

² See Boase, *Register of the University of Oxford*, p. xii. On page 286 of the same volume occurs the following: "29 Nov. 1449, deputati fuerunt subscripti doctores et magistri ad audiendum computum capellani universitatis de libris contentis in libreria comuni universitatis, viz. [here follow the names]." Whether at Cambridge "thuniversitye Chaplen hys acownte" (see p. 27) included a return of the state of the books in the Library, or whether there was a special *computus* for that purpose, the writer does not know.

CHAPTER III.

CHANGES AT THE REFORMATION.

SOME of the duties of the Capellanus—including, indeed, those functions from which he obtained his distinctive name—naturally fell into disuse at the time of the Reformation, while other appointments—such as those of Keeper of the Schools, and Librarian, and Receiver of Rents—were divided up among new officials. We proceed to deal with these changes under separate sections; and, although the method adopted here and elsewhere may now and then involve slight repetitions, it is perhaps the most convenient.

i. THE UNIVERSITY CHAPLAIN.

We need not here dwell upon the uncertainty of the position of the Sacellanus during part of the reign of Henry VIII and that of Edward VI, nor need we refer to the revival of the office during Mary's time—for allusion has already been made to these changes under the account of the contemporary Chaplains. We may pass at once to the new era under Queen Elizabeth. We have seen that John Stokes, of Queens', who held the appointment during the last two or three years of the reign of Mary, still retained the office on her sister's succession, and that he remained Chaplain until his death in 1568. During these ten years various ecclesiastical functions were disused; but, shortly after the decease of Dr Stokes, the office itself was by a Grace entirely abolished, and the profits of it converted to the use of the University. The words of the order, as agreed to by the Senate, are given as follows in Grace Book D, fol. 103:

Cum Academia concesserit Prælectori Lectionis Theologiæ Dominae Margaretæ vi^l xiii^l iv^d et ei oneri ferendo per quotidianas impensas non

sufficiat, et omnia Sacellani universitatis munera, ut *Papistica*, per leges abrogantur: Placet vobis ut annuus redditus, illi solvi consuetus, ad Academiæ usum convertatur.

"Conceditur 30 Junii et primo Julii (1570)." The Grace thus passed is inserted as the last of the "*Statuta Antiqua in ordinem non redacta*." Caius (*Hist. Cant. Acad.* ii. 129), writing about 1574, says: "Hoc officium hodie non confertur in subsidium egentibus, pro veteri instituto, sed quibus rerum suppetit usus, atque abundat etiam novo commento," upon which sentence Dr Ashton, in his notes preserved by Baker (xli. 216), remarks: "It being an office and institution purely Popish, 'tis no wonder it sunk at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. Caius was a man that hung, as it were, between two Religions and therefore in this case he makes this complaint." The financial arrangements will be discussed in the chapter on the Chaplain's stipend; and the ceremonies of the New Chapel will also be dwelt upon later on. We may, therefore, turn to the steps taken with regard to the Commemoration of Benefactors. Although obits and exequies were abolished as superstitious observances, the honoured names of those to whom the University was indebted were not forgotten. Forms were ordered to be used in the colleges; and, after various arrangements had been made for the University at large, a Grace of the Senate was at length passed on February 11th, 1639-40 (John Cosin being Vice-Chancellor), appointing a Syndicate to consult the archives and draw up a scheme for the Commemoration of Benefactors. This *Recensio Benefactorum* "recitata fuit per eundem Pro-cancellarium in plena congregatione Oct. 10^{mo} 1640, et repetita (sermone vulgari) 17^{mo} ejusdem mensis." This document is given in full in Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge Transactions in the Puritan Period*, vol. ii. pp. 436, &c. It contains the following reference to the original founder of the Chaplaincy:

Nigellus de Thornden sub idem tempus (i.e. sub regibus Edw. 1, 2, 3^{do}) medicus Cantabrigiensis, qui fundos aliquot et messuagium nobis in hac villa largitus est, ad alendum Sacellanum, cujus inter cætera munus erat, Benefactorum nostrorum nomina publice recitare, et honestam de iis mentionem facere.

It will be noticed that the words just quoted are identical with phrases already borrowed from Caius's description of the duties of the Sacellanus. Doubtless the History and the Bidding Prayer both quote from some other University document.

ii. KEEPER OF THE CHAPEL.

Even in the pre-Reformation days, many of the religious services connected with the University were conducted in the Church of Great St Mary. Of those which were celebrated by the Sacellanus Universitatis in the Nova Capella, some were abolished *ut Papistica*; others were transferred to the Church just mentioned; while certain simple religious observances still clung to the Houses of the Regents and the non-Regents. The first floor of the north side of the Public Schools Quadrangle was still for many years known as the *New Chapel*; though most of the ceremonies held in it were purely academical.

With regard to certain University functions, Dean Peacock (*On the Statutes, &c.*, p. 17) says:

The powers of the Chancellor, though confirmed and amplified by royal charters, were unquestionably ecclesiastical, both in their nature and origin; the court, over which he presided, was governed by the principles of the canon as well as of the civil law; and the power of excommunication and absolution, derived in the first instance from the Bishop of Ely, and subsequently from the Pope, became the most prompt and formidable instrument for enforcing and extending his authority; the form, likewise, of conferring degrees, and the kneeling posture of the person admitted, are indicative both of the act and of the authority of an ecclesiastical superior.

The most striking of the religious functions, which was still observed, is thus described in Buck's *Book*:

Vpon the 16th day of December (being the last day of the Term) there is a Congregation ex Statuto...at which...the Posers are usually chosen, [&c.]...Now (if there be no other Business to be done) a Bedel calleth up the Houses, and the Vicechancellor goeth to the back of his Chair, and he first readeth the 67 Psalm in Latin to the Company all kneeling, who doe repeat the same after him. This done, he sitting in the Chair, Capite tectus, pronounceth the absolution in these words 'Autoritate nobis commissa nos absolvimus vos ab omni levi negligentia, Forisfactione, seu

Transgressionem Statutorum, Privilegiorum et Consuetudinum, et Deo et Sacramentis Ecclesiæ vos restituimus; in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen¹

In the old Statute, no. 184, already partly quoted in connection with the commemoration of Sir William and Lady Thorpe, there is an added requirement that every person admitted to a degree in any faculty should pronounce the *de profundis* and the customary prayers for the dead. This practice was abolished at the Reformation; but—probably arising from the same custom—we read (the quotation is again from Mr Buck's *Book*) that "when every (questionist) is admitted, he riseth up, and after he hath done his obeisance to M^r Vicechancellor he passeth between the Proctors unto the upper table, and there kneeling down, giveth God thanks in his private prayers², [&c.]." Abraham de la Pryme, in his *Diary*, published by the Surtees Society, tells how he and other incepting bachelors knelt down at the long table in the Regent House, after being presented to the Vice-Chancellor, and said "some short prayer or other as they please³."

Reference will be made later on to the subsequent history of this old Senate House, as well as to the sacred furniture which had been associated with the functions of the old Capellanus.

¹ This extract is from an account written in 1665 by John Buck, a University Bedell, and printed as an Appendix to Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes*. The Dean adds the following note to the passage here quoted: "The form of absolution presupposes that of excommunication, and was one of the incidents of the ecclesiastical authority exercised by the chancellor in this and other universities. It is not a little curious, that so manifest a relic of Popery should have survived the Reformation." (Appendix, p. lxx., note 2.)

² Cole (*MSS.* vol. li.) remarks upon the practice here alluded to: "This and every decent custom, which was in use when I was admitted, is now forgotten, ridiculed, and neglected, by an age, clergy and academics, that have lost all sense of former obligation, and mind nothing but self-interest." Dean Peacock quotes this characteristic note, and characteristically remarks: "It is proper to add, that Cole's attachment to ancient practices, both ecclesiastical and civil, was stronger than was altogether becoming in a minister of the Church of England, or a loyal subject of the House of Hanover." (Appendix, pp. 12, 13.)

³ *Diary*, ed. Surt. Soc. 1870, p. 32.

iii. KEEPER OF THE UNIVERSITY CROSS.

We have already described how the Great Cross of silver was used in the processions and ceremonies of old, and we shall, in a subsequent section, give a further description of its elaborate images and ornaments. Here, in speaking of the changes made at the time of the Reformation¹, an account may be given of the sale of "thuniversitie his Crosse and the staffe."

Early in the reign of Edward VI (1547-8), the following Grace was agreed to by the Senate:

Cum in *Ærario* vestro publico nil sit pecunie, et gravissime hodie cause tractande sint, placet vobis ut Crux Universitatis vendi possit, in usum et commodum Achademiae, per Dominum vicecancellarium et Prepositum Collegii Petri, quandoquidem ejus usus hodie nullus existit².

This was agreed to, and Dr Madew, Vice-Chancellor, and Mr Ainsworth, Master of Peterhouse, were authorised to see after the affairs of the University in London and to defray their expenses from the proceeds of the sale of the Cross. In Lamb's *Documents*, two elaborate and careful accounts are rendered³. The first is entitled "Expenses of Doctor Madew and M^r Rauff Aynesworthe M^r of Peterhouse in the Universitie his sute for the Confirmation of Auncient charters off thuniversitie and other new grauntes. A^o Edwardi VI primo." Under *Recepta* we read "Received for thuniversitie his Crosse and the Staffe ^{xx}iiiiⁱxi." The other document is headed: "Compotus Dⁿⁱ Madue et M^{ri} Aynsworthe pro expensis circa confirmationem privelegiorum Achademiae sic visus et examinatus per præsidentes Collegiorum juxta gratiam ita concessam." This commences: "Imprimis receptum ut de magna cruce Achademiae per eos vendita quæ in toto ponderabat cccxxvi unc. juxta v^o. vi^d. quæ in toto ^{xx}attungunt ad summam.....iiiiⁱⁱxiiⁱⁱ. xiii^{is}." The Cross, which

¹ In Foxe's report of Dr Watson's sermon with reference to Bucer and Fagius, there is a curious account of a popular comment upon the carrying of the Cross in processions. (See Stoughton's edition, viii. 282.)

² Grace Book A, p. 22.

³ Documents, *ut supra*, pp. 97-101.

weighed 336 oz., was thus sold for a trifle over 5/6 an ounce. The difference between the two totals (£92. 13s. and £91) is explained by the following entry: "Item allocatum emptori ut pro rebus nullius precii repertis in cruce post fractionem... xxxiii^s."

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, however, the University was called upon to provide a new Cross¹, as appears from an order issued by Bishop Gardiner, the Chancellor, on April 4th, 1554, and from the following document:

A Contribution for a new silver cross bowght by Dr Yonge Vice-chauncelor at my Lorde of Winchester's our chauncellor's commandment. Diebus Mariæ Reginæ.

	li.	s.	d.
Collegium Trinitatis.....	v	vi	viii
Colleg. Regis	iiii		
Colleg. Johis	iii	iiii	
Aula Trinitatis		xxx	
Aula Clare		xxviii	
Aula Gonvyle.....		xxvi	viii
Colleg. Christi		lv	
Colleg. Jesu		xxviii	
Colleg. Reginæ		liii	iv
Domus Petri		xxxiii	iiii
Aula Pembroch		xxxiii	iiii
Colleg. Corp. Xti		xxvi	viii
Aula Katerinæ		xvi	viii
Colleg. Magdalene.....		x	
Capellanus Achad.		ix	
Summa xxx ^{li} . viii ^d . ²			

The Bursars' Account Books in the different Colleges tell of their individual contributions. Thus Mr Searle prints from records at Queens' the following, under date June 1554, "Mutuo accepit academia ad solvendum pro argentea et inaurata cruce...liij^s. iiij^d." The last item in the general account, as quoted from Lamb's documents, is interesting, telling us, as it does, that Mr Dale, the University Chaplain, had personally to contribute the sum of 9 shillings.

The wheel swung round again, and, a while after the acces-

¹ This new cross is mentioned in the Inventory, printed on page 66.

² Documents, *ut supra*, p. 101.

³ *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, p. 251.

sion of Elizabeth, there was another sale of the Cross. On September 26th, 1565, the following petition was presented to the University authorities:

Maye it please your worshipps, that the vestimentes, Crosse, sensors, cruets, and other superstitious monumentes, whereof by publick order takyn there is presently no use, being nowe in the universitie vestrie, maye be sold to the benefit and profit of the said universitie, at the discretion of Mr vicechancellor, Dr Perne, Hawford, Stokes and Hutton, or of the most parte of theim, so that their doying herein (bryngyng the whole some of money, receyvid for the sayed parcells, to the onlye help and use of ye said unyversitie) maye be by your authoritie confyrm¹.

Later on, in the same year, December 14th, the following Grace was passed:

Conceditur ut pecunia conflata ex venditione crucis possit proportionaliter distribui singulis collegiis quæ exposuerunt eandem, ut apparebit ex libris rationalibus eorundem collegiorum per eos qui eandem crucem vendiderunt².

Again comparing this with college records, we read in Baker's *History of St John's* (Mayor's Ed., p. 162), under the mastership of Dr Longworth:

In his time likewise the University Cross was sold, which having been purchased by contributions from the several colleges, each college received back their due proportion, and St John's College had its share³. This was done under Dr Beaumont's vice-chancellorship, when the university copes and vestments of silk and velvet, the surplice, the altar-cloths, mass and dirige-book, the chalice with the patine, &c., were likewise sold⁴.

It will be noticed that in the Grace, by virtue of which the properties were disposed of, Dr Stokes, the holder of the expiring Chaplaincy, was one of the syndicate at whose discretion the Cross and other effects were to be sold.

iv. THE RECEIVER OF RENTS.

In the *Cambridge Portfolio*, vol. i. page 244, it is stated that, "upon the abolition of Popery, the office of Sacellanus sank into that of a receiver of University monies." But this is hardly a correct way of stating either the apportionment of the various functions or the distribution of the

¹ Grace Book Δ, p. 84.

² Regr. coll.

³ Ibid. p. 87.

⁴ Comput. acad.

financial duties of the old Sacellanus. We have seen, and we shall again dwell upon, the transference of parts of the Chaplain's stipend to other University officers, and other academic purposes. Under our present heading, it will be sufficient to remark that, after the Chaplaincy was abolished, the duty of collecting the rents from the "University Lands¹," as the Thornton property was called, as well as from the possessions of the Barrow² and Mere³ trusts, fell to the lot of the University Bailiff. It may be noted that this last office was held by Tobias Wood in 1598, and that before 1620 he had been succeeded by Peter Thompson (from whom Thompson's Lane received its name). After a while, however, the Bailiffs were replaced by the Bedells, as collectors of the rents which were of old received by the Capellanus Universitatis.

V. KEEPER OF THE SCHOOLS.

It will be remembered that most of the duties, which pertained to the Chaplain as "Keeper of the Schools," were performed by a deputy, who was indeed frequently called "Custos scholarum." In an account⁴ of the University, which was probably drawn up for Sir Robert Cecil on his being chosen Chancellor towards the end of the 16th century, under the heading "Ministers for the necessary use of the University,"

¹ These University Lands were let out on lease—among the holders being some well-known names, e.g. Redman, Stringer, Wheelock, &c. The Newnham portion (about 12 acres in extent) was purchased by Trinity College in 1871 for £4000, and now forms "the Trinity Roundabout," or Fellows' Garden (see the *Cambridge Reporter* 1871, pp. 292, 341). The Barnwell section forms part of the present Botanical Gardens, &c.

² The Barrow Tenements, in Shoemakers' Row, now Market Street, were also leased out—to such holders as Whalley, Tabor, Whinn, Storey, &c. In 1724, when the Crane property on the south side of the Regent Walk was needed for the New Senate House scheme, the income arising from the house in Market Street was attached to the salary of the Began Professor of Physic. The premises are now leased to Messrs Eaden Lilley and Co. The names of Thornton and Barrow are not recorded in the *Endowments of the University of Cambridge*.

³ Mere's houses in Bene't Street are still the property of the University.

⁴ Printed by Professor Lort in 1769, and by Cooper, *Annals* ii. pp. 602—611.

there occurs, last in order, "One Schole-Keeper, who hath the keepinge of the common Scholes, opening and shutting up the common entrance unto them at the times thereunto appointed."

Various duties fell to the lot of this Minister. One may be mentioned. At the Congregation for the presentation of Questionists, as these expectant Bachelors, having their hoods on, passed into the Non-Regent House, the School-Keeper delivered to every one of them a printed copy of that oath, which they were to take before their admission.

Various perquisites also fell to the share of the School-Keeper. For instance, he received a "tunica" from a Compounder.

One of the first holders of the office, under the new regulations, was Richard Moody, of whose appointment as Librarian in 1581 we shall speak in the next section.

vi. KEEPER OF THE LIBRARY.

Considering the place of honour which the University Librarian now deservedly holds, some surprise is naturally felt when we are reminded that the office of *Custos Bibliothecæ* of old was only a subsidiary part of the Chaplain's functions. We have, however, already seen what distinguished men filled the post of *Sacellanus Universitatis*, and how zealous, as Librarians, some of them were. It was but natural that when the appointments were separated, the office of Library Keeper should gradually develop in importance.

A few years after the death of the last Chaplain-Librarian, and the abolition of the ecclesiastical functions of the *Sacellanus*, a separate office of Librarian was created in July of the year 1577; a salary¹ of £10 being assigned to the appointment. The first holder of the post was William James, who at about the same date left Peterhouse to succeed Matthew Stokes as Registrar of King's. Mr James, who had taken his M.A. in 1568, held the office of Keeper of the Library till 1581, in

¹ In the distribution of the money after the Easter Tuesday (Mere's) Sermon, the place of the Chaplain is taken by the Librarian and the Registry. (See Tables in Wall's *Ceremonies*.)

which year also he seems to have vacated his College appointment. He was succeeded, as Librarian, by Richard Moody, whom we met with in the last section as School-Keeper. On his appointment some of the fees obtained from degrees, which had formerly been allotted to the Chaplain, were assigned to the Keeper of the Library, who benefitted to the extent of 5 marks per annum. There was also drawn up at this time an elaborate set of "Articles for the office of Keeping the Universitie Librarie." These are given in Cooper's *Memorials*, vol. ii. pages 388 and 389 (1582). The last item ordered "that the keeper of the Library that now is, and all other to be chosen hereafter, shall continue in his office by the space of three yeares, unlesse upon his misbehaviour he shal be thought by the Universitie meete to be deprived."

In the list of Ministers of the University prepared for Sir Robert Cecil, from which quotation has already been made, the "Schole-Keeper" is preceded by "the *Library Keeper*, who upon a yearely stipend hath the keepeing of the Bookes in the Common Library, for the convenient accesse of Students thereunto, and the good preservation of the Bookes."

CHAPTER IV.

THE STIPEND OF THE CHAPLAIN.

THE consideration of the income of the Capellanus Universitatis—when we remember how varied were the offices which fell to his lot—will not only be interesting in itself, but will throw light upon some of the questions raised in the preceding pages.

We need not here dwell upon the ten marks which were bequeathed in 1256 by Bishop Wm. de Kilkenny to be paid yearly to the two Chaplain-Scholars for whom he thus founded exhibitions, for this foundation fell through; nor need we do more than glance at the chaplaincies endowed by Roger Heedon, a little later in the thirteenth century, under a “*concessio duorum Hospitiorum et quatuor cotagiorum*,” for this charity passed from the University to Pembroke College; nor yet must we delay upon the chaplaincies founded at a later date by King Henry VI, and endowed with an ample income from certain manors, for this foundation was shortly afterwards transferred to King’s College.

We proceed to examine in detail the celebrated foundation of Nigel de Thornton, the Cambridge physician, “*qui fundos aliquot et messuagia nobis in hac villa largitus est, ad alendum sacellanum*¹.” There are numerous documents extant relating to this property—and, though the descriptions thereof do not always quite agree, yet the original bequest probably consisted of three messuages, two of them situate in the parish of St John Zachary and one in that of St Mary the Great, together with 26 acres of land pertaining to the first of these tenements and perhaps a few acres belonging to one of the other two. In one indenture there is a “*concessio 2 placearum et totius terre*

¹ *Commemoratio Benefactorum* (Cosin). *Harl. MS.* 7029.

arabilis, cum libero cursu duarum faldarum, &c.”; in another document there is a “dimissio ad firmam xxvi Acrarum terre in campis de Barnewell, cum libero cursu unius Falde.” Another description says “the University Lands,” as the property was often called, were “triginta acræ jacentes in campis de Bernwell, Trumpington, Coton,” and speaks of a tenement in St Andrew’s parish. See Rysley’s *Catalogue* in the University Registry.

We learn from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, temp. Henry VIII, iii. 505–6, that, in a Survey (dated 1534) of the diocese of Ely (under the Act giving the King the first-fruits and tenths, &c.) the following among other valuations was made:

“Chaplain of the University £1. 8s. 10d.”

In the Return of the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII in the 37th year of his reign to inquire into the state of the several Colleges, &c. in Cambridge, we find the following details under the heading *Capellanus Universitatis*, viz.:

Villa Cantabrigiæ—	{	Firma xxxvi acrarum terrarum in tenura...	{	cx ^s .	Inde in
valet in		per annum xxxiii ^s . iiij ^d .			
	{	Firma duorum tenementorum in villa pre-	{		
		dicta in tenura...per annum lxxvi ^s . viij ^d .			
Repris. in viz in	{	Denariis distributis Magistro Vice-Can-	{	lx ^s .	
		cellario doctoribus, procuratoribus, re-			
		gentibus et non regentibus, bedellis,			
		pauperibus et aliis ministris in exequiis			
		Magistri Thome Barrow communibus			
	{	annis	{	cx ^s .	
Feodo collectoris per annum..... iii ^s . iiij ^d .					
Stipendio dicti Capellani per annum					
xxxiii ^s . iiij ^d .					
	{	Reparatione dictorum tenementorum com-	{		
		munibus annis.....xiii ^s . iiij ^d .			
		Et remanet clare per annum...nihil ¹ .			

It will be noticed that in this Return the accounts of the Barrow trust are included in the Chaplain’s statement; but the sums are kept distinct, and we find that as collector of the Barrow rents the Sacellanus was allowed for himself 3s. 4d., while he received for his stipend as Capellanus the whole income, £1. 13s. 4d., derived from the 36 acres connected with the Thornton foundation.

¹ *Comm. Doc.*, i. 277.

It may be added that, about this date and subsequently, there are records of graces for syndics to let the University Lands "cum consensu sacellani." Such a lease was made in 1535-6; and again, twenty years later, we find the following grace :

Conceditur, ut concessio quarundam Terrarum Academiæ magistro Johanni Redman nuper facta per magistrum Dale sacellanum Academiæ vestro consensu rata sit et confirmetur, ita quod Indenture in ea re confecte et conficiende, prius quam sigillentur supervideantur per dominum vice-cancellarium, magistros Perpoynte et Mytche.

The corresponding deed in the Registry is labelled : "Can-cellarius et Capellanus &c. dimittunt fundos Johanni Redman, pro xxxiii^s. iiij^d. annuatim ad terminum xxxi annorum." Subsequent notices relating to the same property speak of it as connected with "Ædium sub insigni Corvi¹." (Rysley's *Catalogue, ut supra*.)

In Elizabeth's reign, after the abolition of the Chaplain's ecclesiastical functions, the moneys alluded to above were applied, as we have seen, to other academic uses, and eventually, when Dr John Jegon was Vice-Chancellor in 1599, the tenements seem to have been sold², ex consensu senatus, for the sum of £62. 10s.: the fields, however, still remained in the possession of the University (see p. 38).

In addition to the moneys obtained from the rents of the University Lands, the Chaplain had a charge upon the income of the public schools, arising out of that portion of the site of those buildings for which the University was indebted to the benefaction of Nigel Thornton. An indenture (see p. 7) of the year 1347 thus expresses the obligation : "Quotannis x^s. ii^d. redditus

¹ But this is probably due to some confusion between the Thornton property and the Barrow tenements. The house, with the sign "the Crow" or "the Raven," was part of the latter estate. Caius, in his History, in one or two statements, makes a similar mistake; owing, doubtless, to the fact that both properties were administered by our Chaplain.

² Mr J. W. Clark (*Architectural History* iii. 82), alluding to the fact that the arms of Jegon appear on the beautifully ornamented ceiling of the Catalogue Room, makes the suggestion that Dr John Jegon, Master of Corpus Christi College (1590-1602) and four times Vice-Chancellor of the University, was the donor of the roof. The present writer, as in private duty bound, would be glad to chronicle any honour due to a Master of Corpus; but is it not more likely that the money mentioned above was applied to the work in question?

perceptus de magnis scolis nostris, seu principalibus earum in vico scholarum nomine unius Capellæ perpetuæ pro anima dicti nigelli de Thornton in universitate deprecand." So, in an Inventory of Goods in the University Chest, dated 1420, occurs the item: "Bursa Presbiteri cum pertinentibus levata de terris universitatis et de *scolis juris civilis* ad faciendum celebrari pro anima Nigelli de Thornedon." In accordance with this, an entry in Grace Book A (for the year 1457) reads as follows: "Item solutum est presbitero universitatis de *scolis iuris civilis*...x¹." This payment, however, does not generally appear in the proctors' register, but must have been entered in a separate record.

A somewhat similar payment in connection with the school of Canon Law is given in the following extract from Grace Book B under the year 1510: "Solvitur Magistro Hostibie capellano universitatis pro cathedra juris canonici quia hoc anno non erat doctor tenens illam cathedram...xl²."; and the same payment may be referred to in the following entries: 1525 and 1528, "Item Magistro Latamore pro salario suo...xl²."; 1530, 1531, and 1532, "Item Magistro Hethe ex cathedra juris canonici...xl²."; 1532, "Item to M^r Rydley, for ye canon chayre ...xl²."; and 1534 and 1535, "Item Magistro Rydleio Sacellano universitatis...xl²." But these payments probably (as we have noted on p. 10) were allotted to the Chaplain in his capacity of Keeper of the Library.

Yet again the Chaplain was entitled to a portion of the fees paid by questionists and others on their admission. "Baccalaureus Artium solvet Capellano...xii^d." This part of his salary upon degrees was continued to the Chaplain or to the University under his name throughout Elizabeth's reign. In the statutes issued in the first year of that sovereign we find under the fees paid by questionists "*campellano (sic) academie*...xii^d."; and in those promulgated in her twelfth year, "*capellano academie*...xii^d." And so in the proctors' registers, even as late as 1611, we have such entries as this: "Pro 192 Quæstionistis, pro Capellani Feodo, de singulis xii^d,"

¹ Grace Book A, p. 8.

² Grace Book B (1), p. 251.

³ Lamb's *Documents*, pp. 296 and 346.

in toto ix^{lib}. xii^s." This was the old Chaplain's fee, "nunc autem redit in usum Academiæ." The money went to augment the Library Keeper's stipend, &c. (see p. 40). According to an old table of fees, which is preserved in Matthew Stokes's Book¹, the questionist made a payment "*Capellano Universitatis pro Cruce*"; and this payment may be the xii^d. to which we have been alluding. The same table tells us that the questionist, among other fees, paid "*Pro custodia librorum viij^d.*" This sum would also go to the purse of the Chaplain-Librarian.

There were also frequent items in the proctors' registers for the carrying of the Cross. Thus, in 1515, "*Magistro Hostibe pro Bajulatione Crucis pro anno elapso...vj^s. viij^d.*"; and so, at an earlier date, "*Item magistro willelmo tomsun pro portacione crucis in processionibus generalibus...ij^s.*" To give one more example, where any number might be quoted: "1522, Item to the Clarke of the scollys for beryng of the Unversyte Cross twys at the Kyngs beyng heyr, and in Advent, and att the grett Cessacyon...xvi^d." Grace Book B, II. p. 59.

Yet again there are numerous entries of payments to the Chaplain for masses held in the New Chapel, e.g. "*Item pro duabus missis celebratis in capella...iiij^d.*"; "*Item pro missis celebratis in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ ac capella universitatis*"; "*Item pro missa die commemorationis et altra (sic) in capella...vj^d.*" &c., &c. Grace Book A, 156; B, I. 10, etc.

With regard to the various trusts, of which the Sacellanus was the receiver of the rents, &c., we have already noticed that, in the administration of the Barrow Fund, the Chaplain, as *collector* or *computans*, was allowed 3s. 4d. "*pro suo labore*." So, in superintending the property left by Mr Mere, there was an allotment of "two shillings to the Capellanus Academiæ for receiving rents."

It may be added that, in the will of Dr John Botwright, 7th master of Corpus Christi College, who died in 1473, there was a provision² that, if certain conditions were not observed, the money was to be applied to the augmentation of the salary

¹ This Book is in the Registry of the University. The table of fees referred to is on p. 52, b.

² Ibid.

³ See Masters: *History of C.C.C.*, p. 47.

of the Chaplain of the University. Apparently, however, the conditions specified were complied with, for we do not hear of any corresponding increase in the stipend of the Sacellanus.

These different sources of income—though some of them, especially the fees, were variable in amount—must have realised in their total a fair sum ; there were, however, of course a few outgoings, such as the payment to the auditors of his computus already alluded to. And doubtless the payments for the carrying of the University Cross were handed over to the actual *portator crucis* ; while it may be that the Capellanus was responsible for the whole or part of the wages of the actual custodian of the Schools.

CHAPTER V.

NOVA CAPELLA UNIVERSITATIS.

FOR more than three hundred years the upper floor of the north side of the present Library Buildings was used for various academic functions and for certain ecclesiastical ceremonies in connection with University affairs. This department, now known as the Catalogue Room, was formerly called by such names as the Senate House, the Commencement House, Nova Capella, the Regent House, our Common House, &c. From the end of the fourteenth century till the opening of the new Senate House in 1730 Congregations, Convocations, and many other academic meetings were held in this upper room; and during more than half of that period—from the date of Boniface the Ninth's licence in 1399 till the time of the Reformation, or rather till the death of the last University Chaplain in 1568—the *Capellanus Universitatis* was the special ecclesiastical official in most of these functions.

Before, however, we describe this celebrated building and the connection therewith of the holder of the Thornton Chaplaincy, allusion must be made to the times preceding the erection of the Divinity School and the Chapel above it.

The chaplain-scholars on the foundation of Bishop William de Kilkenny were stipendiaries of the Barnwell convent. There is, however, no mention made of the altar which they served. It may have been at the Church of St Botolph, which was appropriated to the prior and convent of Barnwell, or at a building belonging to the same society which was situate on the site of King's College.

The Heedon trust¹ was passed on from the University to

¹ See page 4.

Pembroke College on the express condition that the exequies of the founder should be observed "in the Parish Church," i.e. in St Mary's the Less.

We now come to the Chaplain on the foundation of Nigel Thornton—the official who subsequently became known as the University Chaplain; and the question will naturally be asked—where did he officiate during the century and more that intervened between the establishment of the trust and the erection of the Divinity School and its upper room? Does the term *Nova Capella* imply a *Capella Antiqua*?

The writer of this treatise has not come across such an expression, nor indeed has he found any allusion to the special altar at which the Thornton Chaplain served. In a document already quoted (p. 43), and entitled "*Quedam indentura de terris et tenementis Universitatis et faldis cuidam Capellano ad modum Canterie*," the *reditus* of the Chaplain is spoken of as "*perceptus de magnis scolis nomine unius Capellæ perpetuæ pro anima magistri Nigelli de Thornteton in universitate deprecanda*." But the locality where the Capellanus was to officiate is not named. It may be that some chapel and altar in the Church of St Mary the Great were assigned to our Chaplain. There many University ecclesiastical functions had long been performed. In an old Statute (No. 167) dated "*ante an. 1303*," St Mary's is spoken of as the church "*ubi actus alii scholastici solenniores fieri consueverunt*." Or it may be that to one of the buildings bequeathed by Nigel Thornton a chantry or chapel had been assigned. But there seems to be no evidence¹ upon which to decide this interesting point.

¹ Mr Sandars, in his *Notes on Great St Mary's Church* (Camb. Ant. Soc. 8vo. Publ. p. 7), does indeed state, that "*Nigellus de Thorndon, physician, in 1347, founded the office of University Chaplain to celebrate daily masses in this Church for the souls of benefactors*." He bases this statement upon Cooper's *Annals*, which, under the date named, say: "*At or before this time, Nigellus Thorndon, physician, is said to have given certain houses in Cordiner's-row, for the support of the Chaplain of the University*." But both these sentences are curiously full of mistakes—among which may be noted: the year 1347, when Thornton had already been dead for more than half a century; the allusion to daily masses and to St Mary's Church, for which there is no authority; the mention of certain houses in Cordiner's-row, which were really connected with the bequest made by Archdeacon Barrow a century and a half later; &c.

We pass on therefore to the erection of the Divinity School and of the celebrated chamber over it.

The portion we treat of forms the north side of the Schools Quadrangle, and is the oldest part of that renowned building as it now stands. It is not purposed here to refer to the older schools which formerly existed in the area of the present University Library.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the associated University authorities owned or hired certain buildings for various academic purposes, using Great St Mary's for more ecclesiastical functions, and calling the masters and scholars together by ringing the bells of that church or of St Bene't's.

But about the year 1359¹ a commencement was made of the erection of a Theological School more worthy of the University, the expense being borne by members and their friends. Funds, however, ran short, and not much progress was made until some five or six years later, when Robert Thorpe, a distinguished lawyer, by his liberality gave the scheme a fresh start. He had resigned the Mastership of Pembroke in 1364, and in the following year he was knighted by King Edward and granted an enabling pension. It was in this same year (1365), perhaps as a thank-offering for his advancement, that his contribution was made towards the progress of the Divinity School. Sir Robert Thorpe was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1371 in succession to William of Wykeham; he only held office, however, for a short time, as he died in the following year. Richard Treton, the second Master of Corpus Christi College, who was one of the executors of the Chancellor's will, assigned sums of money to each of the eight colleges, and is said² to have given a further contribution to the new University School. This building³, however, proceeded very slowly, and it was not till towards the end of the century that the munificence of Sir William Thorpe (brother of the Chancellor) and of the Lady

¹ See Archbishop Parker's "records," *Nasmith's Catalogue C. C. C. Library*, cxviii. 6, p. 178.

² See the allusions to Sir Robert Thorpe in the Bidding Prayer preserved by Matthew Stokes (*Missa pro Benefactoribus*, in the University Registry).

³ See the chapters on the Building of the Schools, Library, &c., in Willis and Clark's *Arch. Hist.* vol. iii.

Grace his wife enabled the authorities to complete the Divinity School and the Chapel over it. Accordingly in the year 1398 Eudo de la Zouche, LL.D., Chancellor of the University, together with the regents and non-regents, covenanted¹ yearly on May 2 and November 19 respectively to celebrate the exequies of Sir William and Lady Thorpe, in commemoration of their having built the school and the chapel.

The date of the completion of the building on the north side of the Schools Quadrangle is not certain; but the year mentioned by Archbishop Parker (1400) is sufficiently accurate. We find confirmation of this in the grant of a licence² for the Chapel obtained at that period. This is recorded by Caius, who writes: "Sacellum autem locus est divinarum rerum, et consiliorum, seu congregationum, concedente Bonefacio Pontifice, apud S. Petrum Romæ 15 calendas Novembris, anno Pontificatus sui 10." Boniface the Ninth held the Papal Chair from 1389 to 1404.

The authorities were very proud of the new building. We find, for instance, that in the year 1438³:

John Langton Chancellor and the masters and scholars presented a petition to the King (Henry VI), in which they set forth that from time immemorial the University had been seised of divers tenements and soil, upon which there had been erected certain schools for students in divinity and both the laws, also a common library for the use of the students, &c., with a certain *chapel of surpassing beauty* for the celebration of divine service for the souls of their benefactors.

It will perhaps be well here to quote the descriptions of the building with which we are dealing, as given by Archbishop Parker and Caius.

¹ See Statute 184 (*Documents*, i. pp. 411—418).

² It is a curious fact that Richard Parker in his *History of Cambridge* records under date 1502, George Fitzhugh being Chancellor: "His diebus Papa Alexander 6 concessit per Scriptum suum datum apud S. Petrum Romæ 15 Cal. Novembris, Anno Pontificatus sui 10^o. ut Capella nova in qua Congregationes Regentium et non Regentium celebrantur, rerum divinarum Consiliorumque locus esset." 1502 was the tenth year of the Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth; but the similarity of the phraseology shows that there is some confusion as to the two Popes.

³ See Cooper's *Annals*, i. p. 187.

The Archbishop's History¹ says :

Ac primum de Theologica schola dicendum est, quomodo extracta et absoluta fuerit. Ea enim prima extitit illius quadratæ structuræ pars inchoata quidem multorum in Academia studentium suorumque amicorum sumptibus ac labore, et ad superiorem pene tabulationem perducta : sed paucis annis intermissa, quoniam ope caruerunt ; etsi a Roberto Thorpe seniore milite aliquantulum adjuti sunt....Ita schola theologica cum area tota, subseillis inferioribus, et doctoris Cathedra, superiori item contignatione, ac utriusque pavimentis, et inter duo synedria, quæ regentium ac non regentium domus dicuntur, separatione, porticu quoque a solo et fundamentis extracta, et super eam caverna et interiori secessu, vitreis fenestris, omnibusque præter orientales murales minas aliis, ut jam cernimus, tota per cohæredes prædictos ad finem perducta est, anno 1400.

In Parker's somewhat parallel English account², we read after an allusion to the agreement as to the obsequies of Sir William Thorpe and Grace his wife :

For which Convention, the Executors of William Thorpe went forward with the Divinity Scholes, paved the Floors, made the Stalls there with the Doctor's Chair, the Plancher above that, and paved it, and made the Partition between the Regent and non-Regent House, and so finished the same perfectly, saving the Battlement on the East side ; making also from the ground the Porche, with the foundation, and the volte as it standeth at this day, where the University Hutch is. In which Porch the Doctors of Divinity were wont to open their Questions to the Answerer, as the Disputers in Philosophy used to declare their Questions in the Little Scholes, now the Consistory of the Vice-Chancellor. The executors of which William Thorpe caused also the windows to be glazed.

In Caius' *History* (1574) in one place (p. 81) we read :

Hac continentur Scholæ Theologorum, et sacellum consiliorum, id est, conventus regentium et non regentium, quod etsi jam vetustum est, novum tamen usque dicitur.

Again, in the same *History* (p. 121), occurs a passage, the first sentence of which has been already quoted :

"Sacellum autem locus est divinarum rerum, et consiliorum, seu congregationum, concedente Bonifacio Pontifice, apud S. Petrum Romæ 15 calendas Novembris, anno Pontificatus sui 10, et præterea locus senatorius est. Intercepto dividitur in duas partes, summam Regentes occupant, imam non regentes. Hinc illa regentium domus, ista non regentium

¹ "Academiæ Historia Cantabrigiensis" (pp. iii, iv), at the end of Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*.

² MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College (cxviii. 6).

dicatur. In eo sacello electiones fiunt, magistratuum approbationes, seu admissiones graduatorum, congregationes et consultationes, de rebus gravibus per senatum tantum, idque non alia lingua quam latina, ex statuto universitatis. Senatum voco, consilium doctorum, et magistrorum regentium ac non regentium quorumcunque, etsi ut hodie iuvenum tantum, olim senatus non dicebatur, nisi conventus senum, a Græcis *γερονεια* dicitur, et senaculum locus ubi hi convenerant ab ætatis vocabulo.

A rough sketch of the Schools Quadrangle, drawn about 1459, is preserved in a volume called "the White Book" (*Liber Albus*) in the Bursary of Corpus Christi College. This has been reproduced in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History* (iii. p. 5), where the upper storey of the northern building has written on it the words "Capella nova super scholas theologie."

This north building was rectangular in form, and measured "91 feet long by 28 feet wide between the walls on the ground floor." The upper floor was entered by a large door, which, though now closed up, may still be seen in the N.W. corner of the West Library. This door was approached by an external staircase, which (as altered¹ through the erection of the west side of the Quadrangle) is figured in Parker's Elevation of the Public Schools (1574), in Hamond's map of Cambridge (1592), and in Loggan's print of the Schools Quadrangle (c. 1688). It is also shown on a ground plan of the Quadrangle which forms part of a plan of Clare Hall taken about 1635 and reproduced in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History*, vol. iii. p. 85. Mr Clark also gives, on the next page, a section to show the arrangement of the staircase leading to the Regent House.

With the ground floor—the old Divinity School—we are not here concerned; except to point out that there was a room² at the west end, 22 feet long, which was walled off, leaving the length of the Divinity School to be 67 feet, as stated in Parker's Elevation. It may be conjectured that this west room, or the

¹ See Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* iii. 88.

² Alderman Newton's *Diary* (Camb. Ant. Soc. 8vo Publ. p. 18), in the description of the funeral of Bishop Wren (9 May, 1667), tells us that the body was "carried into the Schooles of this University and sett in a little room there darkened and hung in all parts with black cloath (it being the room at the lower end as you goe into the lower schooles which is under the Regent House)."

recess¹ under the staircase, was used by the man who assisted the Chaplain in his office of Keeper of the Schools.

Ascending to the upper chamber we find it called by various names. In the oldest document² after its erection—a Letter of Citation addressed to the Chancellor (Richard de Billingford, Master of Corpus Christi College) on the visitation of Archbishop Arundel in 1401—it is styled “*Domus Congregationis Universitatis*”; and this title was often used afterwards. See, for instance, Statute 25, “*dat. in domo nostræ congregationis 20 Nov., 1470 (vel potius 1464).*” Other designations are: “*Senatus noster*,” “*Senaculum Vetus*,” “*Domus nostra Regentium*,” “*Nova Capella Universitatis*,” &c. The last two titles are the most frequently used. For instance, the Grace given *in extenso* near the beginning of Grace Book A under the year 1458–9 concludes as follows: “*Acta sunt hec Cantebriegie in plena congregatione nostra in nova capella universitatis, &c.*” (1458).

The name “New Chapel” lingered on, not only, as we have seen, till the days of Caius, but right on till the present Senate House was built. And although, as we have also noted, many of the ancient religious functions there enacted were abolished at the time of the Reformation, yet, in Fuller’s words, the Regent and non-Regent Houses still had “something of chapel character and consecration in them, as wherein some University devotions were performed.”

We now proceed to inquire how far the House of the Regents had a “chapel character.” Does the name “New Chapel” imply that the whole upper chamber was licensed and used for ecclesiastical functions? Or was a part of the room—say, at the east end—specially portioned off for such sacred purposes? Was there, it may further be asked, an adjacent room used as a small chapel, or as a vestry?

Important light is thrown upon these queries by a statute³—No. 63—passed soon after the licensing of the New Chapel. This statute, which is entitled *De gratiis petendis*, begins as follows:

¹ See p. 28.

² *Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge*, ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 127.

³ *Ibid.* p. 160.

⁴ *Comm. Doc.* i. pp. 247–8.

Statuimus et ordinamus quod de cætero nulla gratia tempus aut formam concernens petatur nisi in præsentia cancellarii vice-cancellarii vel præsidentis, et hoc in nova capella et non alibi concedatur, exclusa parva capella eidem annexa, salvis tamen gratiis quæ in antiquis statutis solum regentibus reservantur concedendis. Et, si aliqua gratia vel gratiæ concedantur, quod alter procuratorum vel alterius eorum vices occupans alta voce dicat in medio capellæ 'ista gratia vel istæ gratiæ habentur in ista congregatione,' &c.

Here we not only read of a *small chapel*, but we find that the graces spoken of are to be proclaimed with a loud voice in the midst of the New Chapel, to which the small chapel is annexed.

We have seen in Archbishop Parker's description that there was a partition between the Regent House and the non-Regent House. It was doubtless at the door in this screen that the proclamation was made to the assembled graduates. This spot is said to be "in medio capellæ"; so that the whole upper room was undoubtedly called the *New Chapel*; as indeed we gather from many other allusions to that celebrated chamber.

While a "chapel character" was thus attached to the whole Senate House, there would almost certainly be an altar at the east end, and perhaps a portion of the room partitioned off at that extremity. It might even be that such partitioned-off east end portion might be "the small chapel annexed" to the New Chapel of which the statute speaks.

Mr J. W. Clark refers to the suggestion of an east end *divided-off* chapel in the following words (iii. p. 82):

Archbishop Parker makes the length of the Regent House the same as that of the Divinity School, namely, 67 feet, a measurement which it is exceedingly difficult to interpret. As all his other measurements are perfectly correct, so far as we are able to judge, it would be rash to assume that this measurement is altogether erroneous. The total length of the room in its old state must have been nearly 91 feet. We know nothing about its arrangements, except that in 1676 a screen was set up¹ in it to divide the Regent and the Non-Regent Houses. It may be suggested that Parker's measurement was taken when part of the east end was still divided off for a Chapel, and only a portion of the room was available

¹ This should, of course, be "renewed"; for, as we have seen, there was a partition between the two Houses from the first.

for the meetings of the Senate. It must, however, be admitted that the coincidence of length between the upper and lower rooms is suspicious.

The difficulty is to say what was the actual "division" between the Regent House and the east end portion. That there must have been a part portioned off for special ecclesiastical functions is certain. Indeed, in the account submitted to Sir R. Cecil (see p. 38) it is called the "Head of the Senate House," but no reference has been found to any actual screen or partition.

The present condition of the side walls of the Catalogue Room does not aid us in determining the position of the screen (or screens); for after the new Senate House had been opened in July, 1730, a grace¹ was passed in the following month for the fitting up of the Regent House as a Library. Thereupon the wainscotting² was removed and used in repairing the lower room of the west side of the Quadrangle.

Still less can we gather any hints from the present east end of the room with which we are dealing, for, when the classical façade was added to the Schools in the middle of the eighteenth century, the building was lengthened by some few feet in that direction.

Still, we may of course assume that there would be an altar at the east end. And indeed we find that the high altar was very elaborately adorned. In Grace Book A, under date 1471-2, it is recorded that the senior proctor procured from London some "wings" and "curtains" at the expense of nearly £5. Mr Stoyly, who had been, and perhaps was then, the University Chaplain, seems to have been concerned with the purchases and

¹ See Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, iii. pp. 74 and 75, where the grace is quoted: "5 August 1730. Whereas the Schools appointed for Batchelors and Sophisters are rendered unfit for performance of their Exercises, May it please You that those Schools be fitted up for that purpose, and the materials for Floor Wainscot and Seats belonging to the Old Senate House be employ'd to this use, and that Room be order'd for enlargement of the Library, and rendred commodious for the Books given by his late Majesty, &c."

² This wainscotting was continued round the east end, as may be gathered from an item in the inventory of the furniture in the Regent House, which will be given later on (see p. 69), where we read: "The upper part and y^e sides of y^e house wainscotted."

alterations. So half a century later we find the following entry: "Item for curtons of sylke of oryngre colour and grene for y^e Awlter in y^e Scowls...14s. 8d." (1523). And yet again, in 1556-7, we note: "Pro duobus pannis holosericiis pro summo altari in scolis iiij^l."

With regard to the windows of the New Chapel, it is probable that they may have been "curiously painted," as we know that certain windows in the Quadrangle buildings were. It is true that a grace was passed on January 26th, 1565, for destroying, at the expense of M^r Wythers¹, all inscriptions in the windows relating to prayers for the dead. Whereupon, says Strype, followed a great destruction of them. It may be remarked, however, that the arms of the Thorpes—*impaled with gules, three Water Budgets Argent*—still remained in the east window of the Chapel (which was so much indebted to their liberality) in the days of Robert Masters². These arms were afterwards transferred to the west window, and have lately been removed to the Library "Tower" over the old gate of King's.

We now turn to the question of the "small chapel" alluded to in Statute 63, as *annexed* to the New Chapel. A "parva capella" is also mentioned in the University Accounts under date 1512-3, where there is a payment: "Item pro clave pro parva capella...iiij^l4." An item which follows—"pro sera pro alio hostio inferiori in scolis"—confirms the conjecture that the "small chapel" was on the upper floor.

It may be added that Richard Parker in his *History*, when speaking of the foundation of Clare Hall and referring to certain property which had been formerly in the possession of Nigel de Thornton, the physician, who founded the University Chaplainship, says that in the Great Schools "parva capella designatur ad deprecandum pro illius anima." This "parva capella" cannot refer to the large New Chapel but was probably the "small chapel" of the Statute. (See Leland, 1770, A. 1. 196.)

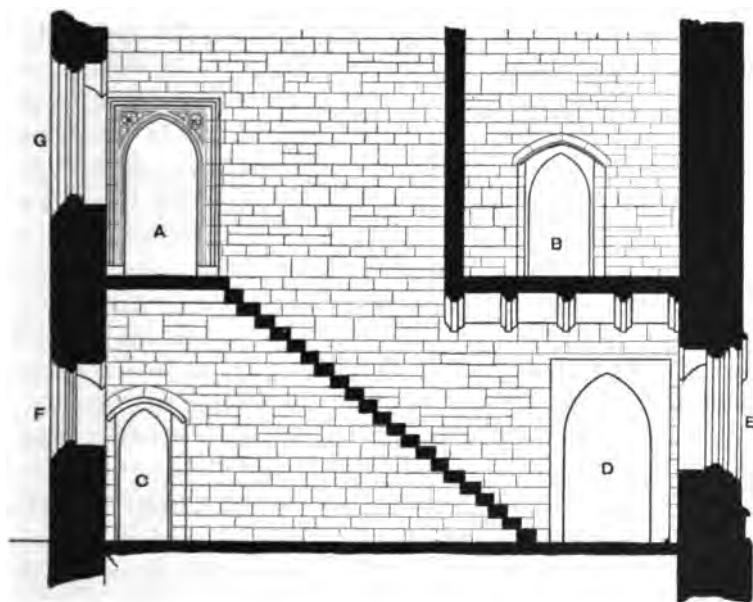
The only chamber which would correspond to this description and which could be said to be *annexed* to the Regents' Houses was a room or closet over the Staircase-Porch.

¹ See Cooper's *Annals*, ii. p. 211. Grace Book, p. 83.

² *History of C.C.C.*, pp. 28-9.

It will be remembered that, from its erection in the fourteenth century till two or three years after the opening of the new Senate House in the eighteenth century, the celebrated upper chamber on the north side of the Schools Quadrangle was approached by an external staircase.

This staircase is thus mentioned by Archbishop Parker : "Porticus a solo et fundamentis extracta, et super eam caverna et interior secessus," and, in the English description, "From the ground the Porche, with the foundation, and the Volte as it standeth at this day, where the University Hutch is."



Section to show the arrangement of the staircase leading to the Regent House.

A. door of entrance to the Regent House; B. smaller door, leading to a closet over the stairs; C. door leading to space under the stairs; D. door of entrance to the Divinity School; E. window of vestibule; F. window lighting space under the stairs; G. window lighting the staircase.

Mr J. W. Clark, in the third volume of the *Architectural History*, gives a detailed description of this porch, &c., together with a section to show the arrangement of the staircase leading to the Regent House. This elevation exhibits, at the top of the

staircase, the remarkable door opening into the New Chapel, the door leading from the Porch into the Divinity School on the ground floor, and over the Porch or vestibule a "closet," which we are about to attempt to identify with the "parva capella."

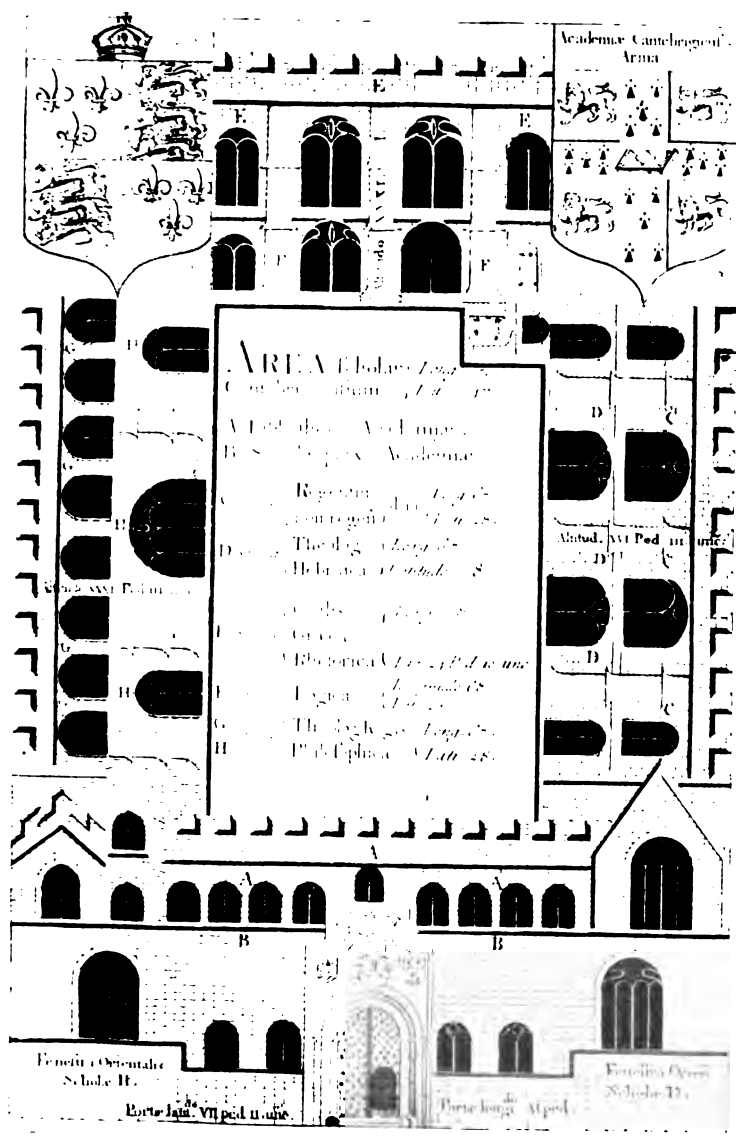
According to Mr Clark's elevation, and other plans, this closet would only measure some 10 feet square, and it must be admitted that so small a chamber would seem unlikely to be used as a "chapel"; especially if Loggan be correct in not providing it with a window.

It may, however, be pointed out that in Parker's elevation¹ the "Volte," as he calls the room, is provided with a window on the south side, and that in Hamond's Map of Cambridge (1592), which, however, is not always accurate in details, two windows are assigned to it; and, indeed, in Grace Book B (II), under date 1518, we find the following entry: "In primis pro vitriacione cujusdam fenestre in parvo sacello in scolis...vj^d." Archbishop Parker also states that the University Hutch was kept in this chamber. Now in Grace Book A, p. 13, mention is made of a "Capella Ciste Communis." The editor of that volume identifies this Chapel of the Common Chest with the New Chapel; but the "Nova Capella" is separately named more than once on the same page. Surely the Archbishop's statement about the University Hutch settles the question; and we shall see later on that if this chamber was that which was afterwards called "the Vestry," the University Chest² continued for centuries to be part of its furniture. The identification is supported by the expression used in the title of Bishop Fisher's Inventory given on p. 64, where we read of "*Ye Vniuersyte Chapell Vestrary.*"

A word or two more about this remarkable little room. It seems not unlikely—especially if we remember Parker's alternative description of it: "*caverna et interior secessus*"—that it was of slightly larger dimensions than Mr Clark's plans show. And this would particularly be the case, before the staircase was

¹ The curious engraving in Drake's edition of Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, which was reproduced in Heywood's *Early Cambridge Statutes*, is given on Plate III. opposite p. 58 of this work.

² See p. 70.



Elevation of the Schools Quadrangle (1574),
from Drake's edition of Parker: *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FURNITURE OF THE NEW CHAPEL.

WE now proceed to refer to the furniture and fittings of the New Chapel and of the Chapel of the Chest ; both as interesting in themselves, and as throwing light upon the ceremonies and functions connected with these chambers.

Not only are there many allusions to these articles and ornaments in the Grace Books and in other documents, but there fortunately exist four or five Inventories which contain official lists of property pertaining to the University buildings.

Such, for instance, is the following list which occurs at the end of an Inventory of the contents of the University Chest made in 1420¹; and contained in a MS. volume entitled "*Registrum librorum et Scriptorum, 1473*," in the Registry.

Registrum vestimentorum et aliorum ornamentorum ad novam capellam universitatis Cantebrigie pertinencium.

In primis unum vestimentum viride cum stolis aureis pro sacerdote tantum.

Item aliud vestimentum stragulatum pro sacerdote tantum.

Item unum vestimentum antiquum nigrum cum casula et ij tunicis eiusdem secte.

Item vestimentum de panno aureo de nigro campo cum tunicis albis et aliis appendiciis eiusdem secte et j capa.

Item una capa viridis cum amictis eiusdem secte.

Item unum vestimentum viride cum tunicis albis capa et aliis appendiciis eiusdem secte.

Item vestimentum de panno argenteo cum tunicis albis amictis et capa eiusdem secte.

Item quinque panni aurei quorum duo sunt de una sorta et alii duo de alia sorta et quinta de alia sorta.

¹ This list is in a somewhat different hand from that of the Inventory.

Item duo apparatoria pro summo altari¹ : unum scilicet de rubio cuius pars superior cum curtenis est serica cum crucifixo in medio. Et aliud partitum cum nigro et rubio de bokeram. Item pro duobus altaribus² departita.

Item duo candelabra³ argenti.

¹ There are numerous allusions in the Grace Books to the ornaments of the high altar. Perhaps the most remarkable of these may be found on the occasion of the visit of Henry VIII to Cambridge in 1523; when we find the following and other payments:

"Item pro tinctura panni co-operientis altare in scolis...xvj^d."

Item for curtons of sylke of oryng colour and grene for y^e Awlter in y^e Scowls...xiv^s. viii^d."

Reparacions off coppes and Alter clothes.

"Item for pynys for holdyng vpe y^e Alter cloth...j^d."

Item for reparell off y^e old alter cloth and a copp...xiiij^d."

Item for a crusyfyx suyd apone y^e alter cloth off tynsyne and refrechying off y^e same...xr^d."

Item for makyng off a new alter cloth of y^e old blake rentt vestments and y^e hold copp...iiij^s. iiij^d."

In 1518 we read of a payment to John Keel the *carpenter*, the reference being therefore to the woodwork of the altar:

"Keale pro reparacionibus circa altare in novo sacello...iiij^d."

The following is perhaps the latest entry, occurring as it does in the last year (1557) of the reign of Queen Mary:

"Pro duobus pannis holoseris pro summo altari in scolis...iiij^l."

² On the occasion of the visit of Henry VIII, referred to above, we have the following:

"Item for berynge the standyng aulter in to y^e felde: copes, candelstyckis and sensers for a redynes of y^e Kynge receuyng...x^d."

Three years earlier, when Cardinal Wolsey visited Cambridge, we read:

"Item 2 scolaribus qui portavere Altare in adventu Cardinalis...iv^d."

The altar here mentioned may have been that of the *parva capella*, or it may have been the super-altar alluded to in the following extracts, under date 1511-12:

"Item pro quatuor ulnis panni linthe pro superaltari in domo regencium et factura eiusdem...iiij^s."

Item pro cera et vino pro omnibus et pro locione vestimentorum super-altaris...xii^d."

An inventory, printed below, of goods "perteyning to the Universitie remayning in the vestry in 1562" mentions "a massebook and superaltare."

³ These candlesticks are perhaps those mentioned in the preceding note. Another set, the gift of one of the chaplains, Wm. Thomson, will be mentioned in a subsequent inventory. They were sold at the time of the Reformation, and the list of the goods in the vestry at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign only records "a payre of latten candelstikks."

Item magna crux¹ argentea deaurata cum omnibus suis pertinenciis que sunt baculus in .3. partes divisus quarum media pars est fracta. Item basis rotunda super baculum tripartita cuius media pars cum tabernaculis vj. et sex ymaginibus. Item magnum tabernaculum cum coronacione beate virginis continens .3. imagines et sedile mobilia. Item una parva pecia inmetallata cruci quando non portatur tabernaculum. Item crux cum crucifixo et duabus ymaginibus videlicet Maria et Johanne. Item vj Angeli et duo pinnaculi et j pixis cum petra de berillo.

Item .3. calices et duo missalia quorum antiquius incipit 2° folio *Jesus nostrum* : et nouius cuius 2° folio incipit *nat in vir*².

Item duo superpelicia manicata³.

[*In a different hand.*]⁴

Item unum vestimentum ex dono domini Henrici Hawmund⁵ canonici ecclesie Sancti Martini London.

Item de Cruce. Item due pecie lignee⁶ quarum extremitates sunt de argento vertibiles anglice vysys.

Item unus clauus⁶ de argento vertibilis ad conjungendum crucifixum cum tabernaculo.

Item unum puluinare de panno aureo ex una parte et serico viridi ex alia parte ex dono magistri Thome Lane⁶ magistri collegii sancti Petri universitatis Cantebriegie.

Item una viridis capa vetus.

Item iiij^{or} corporalia cum tribus clausuris⁷.

¹ A section will be devoted, later on, to the University Cross, and this description will then be dealt with and illustrated.

² These long-sleeved surplices were apparently for the use of the cross-bearers (see p. 78).

³ The names of the donors in the succeeding items suggest a date later than that given for the former part of this inventory.

⁴ Henry Hammond is mentioned in Statute 184 as one of the executors of the will of Sir William Thorpe, who did so much for the completion of the Nova Capella. His name occurs in the Bidding Prayer preserved by Matthew Stokes, where we read: "Item pro anima domini Hamunde nuper Canonici ecclesie sancti Martini magni Londoniensis qui contulit Universitati vestimentum cum aliis." Hennesy (*Novum Repertorium Londinense*) makes Hammond Prebendary of St Martin-le-Grand in 1414, and Rector of St Peter's, Cheapside, from 1429 to 1433.

⁵ These two items are said in the margin to belong to the Cross.

⁶ Thomas Lane, the donor of this cushion, was Master of Peterhouse in the year 1457.

⁷ One corporas and case still remained in the early Elizabethan inventory.

Item psalterium ex dono magistri Edmund Conysboro¹ doctoris decretorum cuius 2^{ma} folium incipit *et in furore*.

Item unum vestimentum feriale coloris rubei et viridis.

Item vj libri² notati pro exequiis et missis mortuorum celebrandis.

Item quinque vestes pro altaribus.

Item duo (vel 20) manutergia³.

Item unum carpett cum puluinari de rubeo S worsted ex dono magistri Roberti Wodlark⁴ prepositi collegii regalis⁵.

Again, in the same collection: "*Registrum librorum et Scriptorum, 1473*," occurs a "*Registrum M^{ri}. Radulphi Songer et Ricⁱ. Cokeram Procuratorum Cantebrie compilatam A^o. dⁿⁱ. Mil^{mo}. cccc^{mo}. lxx^o. tercio*."

This has been printed in Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, showing a list of the books then in the University Library, followed on p. 53 by an Inventory "*De pertinentibus cruci Universitatis*"; which latter will be given in the chapter on the University Cross.

Yet again another Inventory, dated forty years later, is found prefixed to the First Volume of Wills, formerly in the University Registry, now at the Peterborough District Registry, to which office these volumes were removed under the powers of the Probate Act. It was made⁶ in 1513, just before the renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, temporarily resigned the Chancellorship of the University. There is also a copy of the Inventory in a volume of Miscellaneous Papers in

¹ Edmund Conysburg, who was resident at Corpus, was one of the most active members of the University about the middle of the 15th century. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1472; and was shortly afterwards appointed Archbishop of Armagh.

² These six "dirige books" were still in the vestry at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

³ With this item may be compared a much later entry in Grace Book B (11) (1523): "*Pro duobus novis manutergiis pro sacello*." These towels cost six-pence each.

⁴ This well-known Provost of King's, and some time Chancellor of the University, was the founder of St Catharine's College.

⁵ MS. (in Registry) *ut supra*, p. 26.

⁶ "*Registrum super testamentis et aliis actis habitis et factis coram venerabili viro magistro Johanni Fysshier sacre theologie professore alme universitatis Cantabrigie vice-Cancellario inceptum in Festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno domini millesimo quingentesimo primo*."

the University Registry (No. 87). The latter is here transcribed¹, with corrections from the former.

Inventory made the xxiiijth day of Novembre the yere of our lorde [God] a mⁱ. cc[cc and xiiij] of alle the Jewelles that longyth to the Vniuersyte lyinge [in y^e Vniuersyte] chapell vestrary².

In primis A Chalys of syluer with a crucefyx yn the foota.

Item ij can[del]stykkes of syluer and gylte of the gyfte of M. Tomson³.

Item a palle of clothe [of] Tyssewe.

Item iiij^{or} palles to hange ovyr an awtyr.

Item an hangyng of an awtyr of blakke veluett with panys of crymson saten.

Item an old green hangyng [for the awtyr].

Item a sute of blakke Tyssue w^t dekon subdekon and preste and a cope to the same of the gyfte of my lorde of Rochestyr⁴.

Item a nother sute of Blakke w^t subdekon, dekon, and preste and a cope to the same of the gyfte of M. Tomson⁵.

Item a sute of whyte syluer w^t the grownde blakke w^t subdekon, dekon, and preste and a cope to the same.

Item a sute of green and the grownde blewe with subdekon dekon and preste and a cope to the same saue yt lakkyth the Amys cloth and gyrdylles [longyng] to the same.

Item an olde sute of Rede the grownde blakke, byrdes and bestes⁶ of goolde with subdekon dekon and preste and a cope to the same.

Item a vestemente of Redde balkyng⁶ wourke.

Item a vestemente of green lyke veluet.

¹ The writer again thanks the Registry; and he also expresses his indebtedness to Mr J. E. Foster for the Peterborough copy, &c.

² Attention is drawn to the expression "Y^e Vniuersyte chapell vestrary" in connection with the discussion in the last chapter upon the chamber over the staircase.

³ Mr Thomson, the donor of three of the sets mentioned in this inventory, was for some years Chaplain of the University (see p. 11). Cooper (*Athen. Cant.* p. 15) states that he died in 1511; but Cole (MS. 5813, p. 307) quotes from "the Orator's Book" a letter, dated February, 1531, from the University to William Thomson, S.T.B., thanking him for a present of ten marks and also for "sex pulcherrima ornamenta Domino videlicet Altari et quatuor ejusdem ministris accommoda." About a year before, the candlesticks had been sent to London, probably for repair, and perhaps at the expense of Mr Thomson: "Item cariagio candelaborum Londino et iterum universitati...xx⁴."

⁴ The donor was, of course, the celebrated Cardinal Fisher.

⁵ This ornamentation may be contrasted with the "blak vestment" mentioned in the next inventory.

⁶ Bawdekyn, brocade, cloth from Bagdad.

Item ij olde frutes for a lytell awtyr¹.

Item a wryted messe booke and vj lytell dyryge bookes².

Item a syrples, a carpett and ij coysahons.

Item a hangyng for the awter of rede and black veluet ex dono magistri Thomson³.

The date (1562) of the Inventory next to be quoted is peculiarly interesting; for it stands midway between the death of Queen Mary and the passing of the grace⁴ in the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, which ordered that "the vestments, Crosse, sensors, cruets, and other superstitious monuments, whereof by publick order takyn there is presently no use, being nowe in the vestrye, be sold to the benefit and profit of the said universitie."

In a volume of papers in the office of the Registry (by whose courtesy it is here printed) occurs the following "Inventory of goods perteyning to the Universitie remayning in the Vestry" (1562):

In primis a chalice of silver.

Item a masse boke and superaltare⁵.

Item a corporace clothe and cace⁶.

Item a paull⁷ or horsecloth of cloth of tissew.

Item a cope of clothe of tissew.

Item ij auterclothes blew veluet with angells⁸ embrodered.

Item one olde cope of greene bawdkyn.

Item a blak veluet cope a vestment, deaken and subdeakon with albis perteyning to the same.

Item ij auterclothes of lynning for the awter.

Item an olde vestment of grene bawdkyn.

¹ Probably the altar in the Parva Capella; see p. 57.

² These books are mentioned in nearly all the inventories. It may here be noted that at one time the altar books were kept in the University chest, or in some special chest. See the following entry in Grace Book B (i), p. 230: "Juniore procuratori pro...emendacione cere ac confecione clauis pro cista universitatis in qua reponuntur libri juxta altare...ij³. vj⁴."

³ See the note about this University Chaplain on the previous page.

⁴ See p. 37.

⁵ See p. 61.

⁶ See p. 62.

⁷ It will be remembered that an important part of the duties of the University Chaplain was taken up with the keeping of the obits of benefactors.

⁸ Compare note 5 on p. 64; and contrast that on p. 66.

Item a blak vestment¹ with images with the appertenants risyng oute of their groves (*sic*).

Item a payre of latten candelstikks².

Item a payre of crewtta.

Item a saking bell.

Item vj dyrige booka.

Item the common chiste³ for thuniversitie.

Item a chiste with⁴ evydences and charters.

Item a presse⁵ to ley in the premisses.

Item a silver croasse gylted⁶ in the custody of the chapleyn of thuniversitie.

Item a lardge fyne cipres⁷ abowte iij yardes frynged with golde fringe to carry the sacrament whitch the datary⁸ dyd gyve to the universitie at the visitation.

¹ This vestment, used "in dirige masses," was adorned with figures of the dead rising from their *graves*. In the South Kensington Museum, at the foot of one of the exhibited crucifixes, is the figure (doubtless) of Adam rising from the grave.

² The silver candlesticks of the former inventories (see pp. 61 and 64) seem to have been replaced by this "payre" made of mixed metal. [Compare the "latten bilbo" with which Pistol challenged Falstaff.] In the *Statuta Antiqua* (*Doc.* vol. i. p. 440) and in the *Grace Book* it is stated that in the year 1540 a certain sum was taken "ex eistaffen propter quas impignorentur candelabra universitatis." Perhaps the money was never returned to the Fenn chest and the security was forfeited.

³ Archbishop Parker tells us that "the University Huteh" stood in the chamber over the staircase porch; this room must be identical with the "Capella Ciste Communis" mentioned in *Grace Book A*, p. 13 (see p. 57).

⁴ The Chest, which contained these University legal documents, is mentioned in *Grace Book A*, p. 219: "Item pro uno (*sic*) clauī ad cistam evidenciarum... viij^d."

⁵ In an Inventory, from which certain quotations are made later on (see p. 70), among "divers parcells...in the charge of Mr Vice-Chancellor," was "one key of y^e press in y^e Librarye."

⁶ This entry is of great interest, as being the only notice which the present writer has met with of the University Cross, bought in the reign of Queen Mary as a substitute for the "great silver Cross" of former days. It will be noticed that it is called "a silver cross gylted," and is specially noted as still "in the custody of the chapleyn of thuniversitie." It was soon afterwards sold (see p. 37).

⁷ "Fine cypress." Minshew defines cypress "a fine curled linen, crespt"; cf. crape. See Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, iii. 1, and *Winter's Tale*, iv. 3; Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 35, &c.

⁸ Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian priest, the Pope's Datary, was one of the visitors sent to Cambridge in 1556-7. In the curious *Diary*, kept by Mere, the University bedell, and printed in Lamb's *Corpus Documents*, we read, under

On the back of this Inventory is written in a different hand :

Twoe alter clothes of red veluet and oon frynge or frontlet.

xviij yards lynesie wolsey.

buckitts¹ of leather.

These Inventories are so detailed in their description of the various vestments and ornaments that it is not necessary to quote from the Grace Books and other records accounts of special instances of the purchase or repair of such articles; especially as various examples have been given in the notes. Nor need mention be made of the frequent allusions to the purchase of candles, wax, &c., for the New Chapel, and the numerous payments for the washing of surplices and altar linen.

At the time of the Reformation most of the ecclesiastical ornaments and vestments were sold. The grace authorising the sale of the University Cross and other articles has already been quoted; but the following allusions to the dispersion of the *jeweltes* of the Nova Capella may again be given under our present heading. It was during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr Beaumont that—in addition to the (second) Cross—"the University copes and vestments of silk and velvet, the surplice,

date February 8, 1557, an elaborate account of a general procession, in which certain doctors "bore the canopy and my lorde of Chester [Dr Cuthbert Scot] in Xtes college best cope with a fine lawne garnished with gold over the same carryed the sacramente in a lytle monstrat belonging to Gonvyll Hall." It will be noticed that Ormanet is here called "the Datary," and such is the title given him by Mere. As both these documents are private and contemporary with the visitation, there can be no doubt that the Italian priest was known by that title. Foxe also uses the title, and describes the incident in the following passage (Stoughton's edition, viii. 284-5): "The Bishop of Chester...clad in a long rochet; and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol also. Ormanet, the Datary, had given the same a little before to the University, for that and such like purposes." Referring to this application of the title *datary* to Ormanet, Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, i. p. 714, ed. 1691) bluntly says that Foxe's statement is "false"; but the above remarks show it to be correct.

¹ Some few years later, in a very elaborate Composition made between the University and the Town (1575), it was agreed that all the colleges should provide themselves with leather buckets and other appliances for diminishing the danger from fire. (See Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 336-7.)

the altar cloths, mass and dirige book, the chalice with the patine, etc., were sold." The words are from Baker¹, who is treating of the mastership of Dr Longworth, and adds: "Nor can I say anything of his principles, further than that the Geneva psalters were continued in his time, that paxes and other stuff were sold out of the vestry, and one cope to Dr Pilkington, which I daresay he never used." This referred, of course, to the disposal of college property. And so does the following extract from Strype's *Annals*², alluding to the defence of Dr Thomas Goad, the provost, against the complaints of the Fellows of King's College: "As for selling the Copes that were found in the House, he answered that he turned them into money, and bestowed them upon the new Library and Books for furnishing it."

We next quote an Inventory, of a somewhat later date (c. 1585), which describes the furniture of the Senate House from a non-ecclesiastical point of view; or rather, which after the sale of the vestments and other mediæval articles, details what are described as

*"Divers parcells, things and furniture belonging to y^e
Universitye."*

The list is given in Baker (vol. 41, pp. 130, &c.), and Cole (MS. 5847, pp. 265, &c.), and is taken from an old University document. It deals with most of the Quadrangle buildings, but here only the following extracts need be quoted:

In the Regent house and charge of H. ffrocks.

1. A long table³ with a fframe, with a long Carpett broad cloath, with an old cloath to wrapp it in.
2. A square joyned Table⁴, with a grey cloath for it.
3. Two joyn'd forms, a joyn'd chair⁵ and 2 Cushions.

¹ Baker's *History of St John's College* (ed. Mayor), p. 162.

² Strype's *Annals*, ii. p. 421.

³ When Prince Charles had a degree conferred upon him in 1641, "the Cloath of State was layd upon the long Table, &c." (*Pern's Book*.)

⁴ This was perhaps the Proctors' Table.

⁵ Buck speaks of "the Forme, by the Vicechancellors chaire." (Peacock, Appendix, p. lxi.)

4. five boards to stand upon¹ &c.
5. A standing deske², with a large greene cloath.
6. Two short old forms.
7. The upper part³ of [*or and*] the sides of y^e house wainescotted, with one little door to a little hole⁴ to lay in graces. And a key.

In y^e Non-Regent House.

1. The long (or large) settles⁵.
2. One square table for the Scrutators⁶ with a greene cloatha.
3. All windows glazed with 12 (or 2) Casements⁷.
4. four great Chests⁸ bound with iron.

Doctors Closet⁹.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 5. Item a square joyn'd table | } Mr. Backester ¹⁰ . |
| 6. A settle with two locks and 2 keys | |
| 7. A tourned chair. | } Mr. Stringer ¹⁰ . |
| 8. Two joyn'd fforms. | |
| 9. A joyn'd Stoola. | |

¹ The floor of the Regent House is called a "pavement" in the old Grace Books, &c. It may still, in Elizabeth's time, have been a cement floor, requiring "boards to stand upon."

² Buck says that the Inceptors, "as they are presented, are to stand behind the Desk with the green cloath" (pp. lxxv-vi). In Grace Book B (11), under date 1521, there is a payment "pro reparacione in noua capella scamnorum et lectrinarum...iiij^d."; and again, ten years later, "Item Johanni Keyle carpentario pro reparacione lecternarum et subselliorum in scolis publicis...iiij^d. iiij^d." The *lectrina* may have been part of the distinctly ecclesiastical furniture of the New Chapel, but the conjunction of the word with *scamna* and *subsellia* suggests desks in the Regents' House.

³ Thus we see that the wainscotting was carried round the east end. See p. 55.

⁴ For a very curious account of the ceremony connected with this little hole see p. 73. It may have been situate in the north wall, where is now the staircase up to Cockerell's Building.

⁵ These settles had locks and keys.

⁶ The Scrutators read the graces in the Lower House, &c. See the allusion to the Scrutators' Table in Buck, p. lxxiii.

⁷ The copies of the Inventory vary as to the number of casements.

⁸ These were loan-chests (see p. 72); the common chest and the chest of evidences were in the vestry.

⁹ It will be noticed that the items of the Doctors' Closet are numbered consecutively to those of the Non-Regent House. They are therefore printed here that the reader may be aided in locating this chamber (see p. 57).

¹⁰ These articles were in charge of the Bedells, John Baxter and Philip Stringer. Mr Stringer's appointment to office in 1585 helps us to fix the date of this Inventory.

10. A Cushion of Turkye worke.
11. A key to y^e door.
12. All the windows glazed.
13. And 3 double Casements.
14. The Doctors place backed round with seats.

In the Vestry.

1. Two Chists¹ bound with iron.
2. A standing Desk.
3. One cubbord² with a key.
4. In it 3 long Cushions of gold.
5. Item, 3 short cushions of gold.
6. A large Paule of gold and red Velvet.
7. Sixteene Peices of Greene for the Commencement³, and one new bought anno 1583⁴.
8. Two Peices of Dorincks⁵.
9. ffoure old Peices of Tapestry.

It may be added that in the Vice-Chancellor's charge were "Two keys of the Regent House," and that in one of the settles in the Consistory⁶ were two keys of the Vestry.

From the details of these Inventories, and from the accounts of the proceedings of various academical ceremonies as recorded in the note-books of certain esquire-bedels, it is not difficult to imagine the internal appearance of the Senate House. And now that we have had the advantage of noting these details, a further account of the "New Chapel" may be conjectured.

This large upper room, which, as we have seen, was rectangular in shape, measuring altogether 91 feet by 28 feet, was divided by a screen into two parts, called respectively the Regents' House and the Non-Regents' House. There was also

¹ These chests were probably the University Hutch (or Common Chest) and the Chest of Evidences (see pp. 51 and 69).

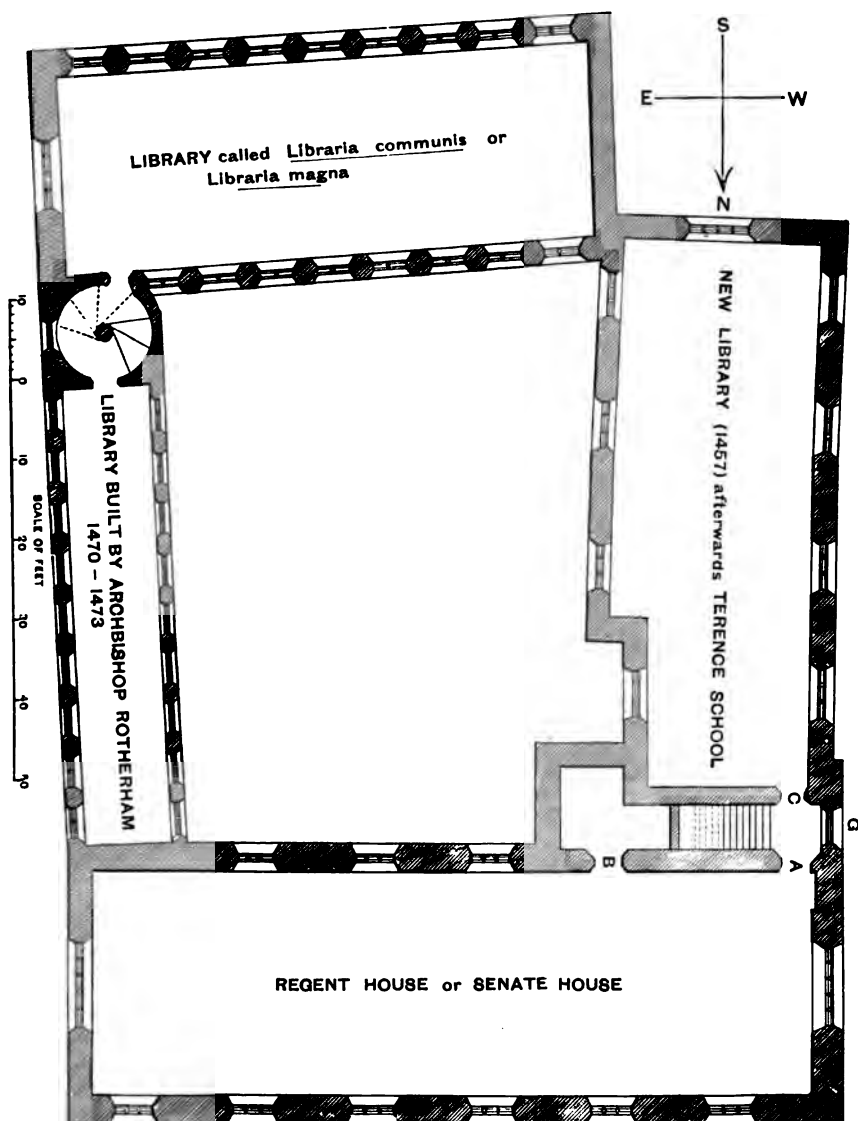
² The cupboard may have been formed in the recess over the ascending staircase.

³ The Tuesday at the end of the Easter Term, when the higher degrees were conferred.

⁴ The date will be noted.

⁵ Dornyx was an inferior kind of damask, originally manufactured at Doornick (Tournai) in Flanders.

⁶ "The Consistory, where the Vice-Chancellor keepeth his Courts."



Plan of the First Floor of the Schools Quadrangle,
showing the original arrangement.

a certain space¹ at the east end assigned for special ecclesiastical ceremonies, perhaps partitioned or curtained off, though the writer has not found any mention of a screen or curtain. In any case the high altar would stand under the east window. It may further have been that a portion at the west end was also partitioned off. The chamber was entered at this end at the fine door which still exists, though blocked up, in the corner at the south-west. This door stood at the head of the external staircase, which was the only approach to the New Chapel.

Entering the south-west door, and perhaps passing an ante-chamber², the Non-Regents' House would be reached. This half or nearly half, of the New Chapel was probably always wainscotted, as it certainly was after the year 1678. This "Lower House," as it was sometimes called, had a double row of benches "round about," called respectively the Inward and Outward Benches. These benches, which may have been the "settles" mentioned in the 1585 Inventory, are referred to in the following curious order³:

If upon any occasion there be any Congregation in the Senate House, that the Regents and non-Regents seate themselves only upon *the inward Benches* round about their severall Houses, yf the saide Benches will containe them: yf not, upon *the outward Benches* also, at the lower ende of their severall Howses, leavinge the upper ends of the outward seats, for such Personages of Qualitie as shall come to be admitted, or see the said Congregation. And that both Regents and non-Regents be pleased to keep their seates quietlye, without stirringe about, or heaping together, only standinge upp while the Chancellor and other Personages of noble Qualitye passe by them. And when the Regents and non-Regents are called upp, that they come quietlye, and not passe beyonde the lower end

¹ The account of the University drawn up for Sir Robert Cecil (see Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 602) indeed says that "the Senate House is divided into *three parts*; the first being called the *Head of the Senate House*; the second the *Upper House or Regent House*; the third the *Lower House or Non-Regent House*."

² That the door at the head of the staircase opened directly into the Non-Regent House seems, however, to be suggested by the following extract from Buck's *Book* (Peacock, p. lxvii): "When the Houses are met, the Proctors, one of the Bedels and Register doe goe downe to the Non-Regent House doore; and there the Proctors doe call for those of every severall College, who have paid their fees..., as the Questionists doe pass into the Non-Regent House...."

³ See Tabor's *Book* (Cole MS. 5843, p. 288).

of the Proctors Table, nor stand upon the Benches; but as soon as the Speech is ended, in a solemn manner to returne to their seats againe; and when the Congregation is dissolved, not to move until the Lords and Personages of Qualitie and Doctors be gone out.

At the Table mentioned in the list of Furniture, the two Scrutators¹ sat, with the Senior non-Regent present, to scrutinize various graces, &c. The four great Chests which were kept in the Lower House were probably those of Fenn and Neal, of Billingford and Bowser, of Darlington and Exeter, and the Trinity Chest. The Scrutators had each a key of these Hutches.

Before we pass in to the Regents' House, it may be remarked that the whole of the Senate House was admirably lighted, there being large windows at the east and west ends, and on the north side there were six windows, the south side² being similarly lighted, except towards the west end, where was a door leading to the small room over the porch and the large entrance door at the top of the staircase.

A screen divided the two Regents' Houses, and had done so from the first, as we learn from the Archbishop's description of the old building. This partition was improved and ornamented during the extensive repairs carried out by Cornelius Austin in 1676-8; under which dates the University Accounts include the following expenditure:

To Cornelius Austin for the Screene in the Regent House with all the carving belonging to it	...	030	00	00
To him for Wanscot, and Seates, and Elbowes in the non-regent house		015	00	00
For 48 yeards of windscoot (<i>sic</i>) in the Non-Regent House with the carving work at 6 shillings per yard		014	08	00
For Wiseman for painting the Kings and the University Armes over the Skreene in the Regent House		001	15	00 ³

The expression in the last item "over the Skreene" may suggest that the partition did not reach to the roof. It may be remarked that the elegant ceiling of the Catalogue Room has among its ornaments a shield bearing the arms of Jegon, and

¹ These officers in the Non-Regents' House corresponded to a certain extent with the Proctors in the Regents' House.

² It is clear that after the erection of the eastern side of the Quadrangle, another window on the south side of the Nova Capella was blocked.

³ Quoted, with many other details, in *Arch. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 24.

may have been erected at the expense of, or in remembrance¹ of, the Vice-Chancellorships of Dr John Jegon or of his brother Thomas, two Masters of Corpus at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The roof has however been carefully renovated since the elongation of the room, when the façade was added, for the east end of the ceiling corresponds with the rest of the roof.

There was a door in the centre of the screen at which, as we have seen, loud proclamation was of old made of the graces, &c.; though later on they were announced separately in each room.

We now pass into the Regents' House, where we find the sides wainscotted in the 1585 Inventory; from which we learn that in one place of the wainscotting there was a "little door to a little hole." This "Locker or Cupboard" is referred to in the following account of what happened in the Senate House after the selection of the Lectures on June 11th or 12th:

The Caput Senatus are called together to pass divers Graces; (it may be, some for D^m Bac^m in Div., Inceptors in Arts, Bac^m of Law and Physick, &c.). When these Graces have been read in both the Houses, the Register writeth upon them, *Lect.*, and then putteth them into the Locker or Cubbard, where they are to sleep, as the Schoole term is, till the next Congregation, which is usually at 1 of the Clock that Afternoon².

When the Senaculum Vetus handed over its functions to the new Senate House, and the historic chamber was fitted up as a Library, the wainscotting, as we have seen, was used for the adornment of the lower room on the west of the Quadrangle, and "the little hole" where the graces used to "sleep" disappeared.

The extract from Tabor's *Book* given on p. 71 has told us that, as in the Lower House, so in the Regents' House, there were "inward and outward Benches." Other chairs, seats, and forms are mentioned; among which should be particularly noted the Proctors' seats, the seats of the Heads, and the Vice-Chancellor's Chair. This last seat, or perhaps some special chair, is referred to in the following extracts. When Prince

¹ But see p. 43.

² Peacock *On the Statutes*, Appendix, p. lxxviii, quoting Buck's *Book*.

Charles had the degree of M.A. conferred upon him on March 12th, 1641, we read, in the account¹ of the ceremony in the Regent House, that:

The Cloath of State was layd upon the long Table, and a riche chayre placed at the upper end of it. Mr. Orator Molle presented him, Dr. Holdsworth vice-chancellor admitted him in the chayre &c.; then Mr. Molle stood at the lower end of that Table and made a short speech to his Highness....

So, many years before, on March 18th, 1571, when William, Marquis of Northampton, was admitted to a similar degree, we read:

M^d quod dictus Dominus Marchio sedens in Cathedra ad mensam in nova capella (presentibus Dominis Judicibus Assise et Gaole deliberande, et magna generosorum corona) ponebat manus suas inter manus Domini vicecancellarii in admissione sua; et post admissionem orator Academie habuit orationem gratulatoriam, et dictus Dominus palam et publice promisit se memorem Academie, si quando prodesse posset.

It will have been noticed that in both these quotations, as well as in the extract from Tabor (which reminded the graduates how they should mind "their P's and Q's" when degrees were conferred on such "Persons of Qualitye"), mention was made of the two Tables specified in the Inventory. The "Long Table" was perhaps the same as the "Upper Table," and was placed upon the south side of the House. This seems to follow from a consideration of an account of the admission of the Questionists. When presented, we read in Buck's *Book*²:

They are directed to the lower part of the south side of the Regent House by one of the Bedles, and there to stand whilst all the rest are presented. Then the Sen^r. Proctor, standing with the Junior on the left hand [i.e. *the south side*] of the Vicechancellor (sitting still in his chair) doth read the oaths which they are to take....When all are thus sworn, the Vicechancellor doth admit every one of them kneeling before him on the foote-pace....When every one is thus admitted, he riseth up, and after he hath done his obeisance to M^r. Vicechancellor he passeth between the Proctors unto the upper table, and there kneeling down giveth God thanks in his private prayers³ &c. When they are all admitted, a Bedel goes down with them into the lower House, and there leaveth them.

¹ Bedell Fern's *Book* (Baker, vol. 33, pp. 235-6).

² Peacock, Appendix, pp. lxvii and lxviii.

³ See p. 34.

From the same notebook, we find that as the Inceptors were presented they were to "stand behind the Desk with a Green Cloth," which it will be remembered is catalogued in the 1585 Inventory. After the Inceptors had been sworn, and had been approved of by scrutiny, &c., they had "to follow the Junior Bedel round the Regent House, giving a thankfull Respect to the V.Ch. Noblemen, Doctors, and Regents, as they passed by them." After admission, they went "betwixt the 2 Proctors...to do their devotion at the Table, and to be carried out of the House, in such manner as is expressed concerning Bachelors of Arts."

The other table—"the square joyned Table" of the Inventory—was perhaps that known as the Proctors' Table; though, of course, the Proctors had seats at the Upper Table.

The "Foot Pace," mentioned in the above accounts, was probably a kind of kneeler¹ placed before the Vice-Chancellor. On it the graduate knelt at his admission; at it the Senior Regent read various suffrages, &c.

The "five boards to stand upon," catalogued in 1585, may imply that the floor of the Senate House was still of cement, as seems to have been the case in the fifteenth century, when we read in Grace Book A (1454-5) such entries as "Item pro exportacione argilli a capella...xx^d."; "Item pro j foodyr lyme pro pauimento noue capelle...iiij^s."; &c.

On the walls of the Senate House hung certain tablets. Thus we read in Parker's record: "Quorum patronorum testamenta in archivis extant, eorumque largitiones in tabulis, quæ in Regentium Synedrio quondam appendebantur, seorsim describebantur; ut ex antiquis Academiæ monumentis colligi potest²"; while from Grace Book B (II) we learn, under date 1522-3, that ii^d. was paid "for a new tabyll hangyng in y^e new chapell for y^e names of y^e keepers off y^e hutchys"; and that, in the following year, Kele the carpenter and crier made "a table to hang on the copy of the mayers' submyssyon in y^e scolys."

¹ Or it may have been that part of the floor towards the east was higher than the rest; forming a "dais," as in the present Senate House.

² *Acad. Hist. Cantab.* p. iii.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UNIVERSITY CROSS.

WE proceed to describe the University Cross and its ornaments, of which the Chaplain was the keeper, and sometimes the bearer; and in the first place it will be well, for the sake of comparison with what follows, to repeat here the list of things pertaining to the Cross which occurs at the end of an Inventory¹ of the University Chest made in 1420.

Item magna crux² argentea deaurata cum omnibus suis pertinenciis que sunt Baculus in 3 partes diuisus quarum media pars est fracta.

Item basis rotunda³ super baculum tripartita cuius media pars cum tabernaculis vj. et sex ymaginibus.

Item magnum tabernaculum⁴ cum coronacione beate virginis continens 3 imagines et sedile mobilia.

Item una parua pecia inmetallata cruci quando non portatur⁵ tabernaculum.

Item crux⁶ cum crucifixo et duabus ymaginibus videlicet Maria et Johanne.

Item vj Angeli et duo pinnaculi et j pixis⁷ cum petra de berillo.

[Item 3 calices et duo missalia etc.]

¹ See p. 60.

² It will be noticed that here we begin at the staff and proceed upwards, whereas the parts of the Cross in the second inventory are described from the top downwards.

³ This enlarged and ornamented knob apparently corresponds to the *pecia magna* mentioned third in the other list. If so, we see that the name of one image must be omitted there.

⁴ If this *magnum tabernaculum* is the same as the *tabernaculum crucifxi* described in the second inventory, the three images are those of the Father, the Virgin Mary, and an angel.

⁵ This was apparently used in minor processions.

⁶ The *summa pars* at the beginning of the second account.

⁷ Perhaps the *tabernaculum parvum* in the other list.

Item duo superpelicia manicata¹.

Item due pecie² lignee quarum extremitates sunt de argento vertibiles anglice *ryse*.

Item unus clauus de argento vertibilis ad conjungendum crucifixum cum tabernaculo.

It has already been noted, in connection with the Inventories given in the last chapter, that Mr Bradshaw printed in his *Collected Papers* a catalogue of the books in the University Library compiled by the Proctors in the year 1473, and that this list was followed by a description of the University Cross. This description will now be given.

De pertinentibus cruci Universitatis.

Summa pars³ crucis cum ymagine crucifixi et ymaginibus sancte Marie et sancti Johannis.

Tabernaculum crucifixi⁴ cum ymaginibus Patris et sancte Marie cum angelo supra capita.

Alia pecia magna cum minore in capite cum ymaginibus⁵ Michaelis sancti Nicholai sancte Marie et Gabrielis et sancti Thome deauratis cum duodecim penaculis maioribus et minoribus.

Aliud Tabernaculum paruum⁶ cum crystallo pro sacramento deferendo cum duo *pyñ* [pinnaculis].

Baculus⁷ deauratus divisus in tres pecias deauratas et duas pecias ligneas argenteas in finibus cum uno *vice*.

¹ These sleeved surplices were kept in a case.

² The last two items are in a later handwriting.

³ It will be noticed that the Cross is described from the top downwards.

⁴ This Tabernacle was probably so called because it was fixed to the crucifix. The first inventory speaks of a *pin* for joining the crucifix with the tabernacle.

⁵ Michael was the Christian name of Dr Causton, who adorned the Cross, and who was Master of Michael House; Nicholas was the patron saint of King Henry VI; the Virgin Mary and Gabriel are suggestive of the Annunciation message; Saint Thomas was doubtless the Archbishop of Canterbury. To be symmetrical with the twelve pinnacles mentioned next, and indeed to correspond with the general hexagonal design of the ornaments of the Cross, there should be named another image. This is either accidentally omitted in the description; or there may have been a door at the sixth face.

⁶ This small Tabernacle apparently served as a pyx. The abbreviation *pyñ* doubtless stands for *pinnaculis*.

⁷ Michael Causton is included in the list of University benefactors as one "qui baculum pro cruce ejusdem decenter ornavit." The mention of the word *Baculus* may either refer to the whole arrangement of the Cross except the crucifix, or it may mean that Causton encased the staff in silver.

Item sex angeli¹ deaurati cum aliis omnibus extra una et unum *vice argenteum fractum*.

Item alia pecia que vocatur *Soket* pro pede crucifixi.

Item duo penacula¹ sine cruce cum aliis duodecim parvis peciis argenteis et deauratis.

Item duo superpelicia² cum uno *Poket*.

From these lists of the articles belonging to the University Cross it will be seen how elaborate and ornamented it was. Above the staff, which was composed of three parts, was a remarkable *basis rotunda*, girdled in the centre by a six-sided set of tabernacles containing images. Over this again was probably another hexagonal, canopied ornamentation. Indeed, there may have been a series of tabernacles and figures. These may sometimes have been pieced together, and sometimes omitted. Above these, or, if they were not fitted, above the large embellished knob, there was the *great tabernacle*, with a representation of the coronation of Mary, containing besides the figure of the Virgin an image of God the Father and an angel overhead. Above this tabernacle, and joined to by a silver pin, rose the Crucifix, with figures of Mary and St John. When used in processions of minor importance, the great tabernacle arrangement was replaced by a smaller piece with a cross.

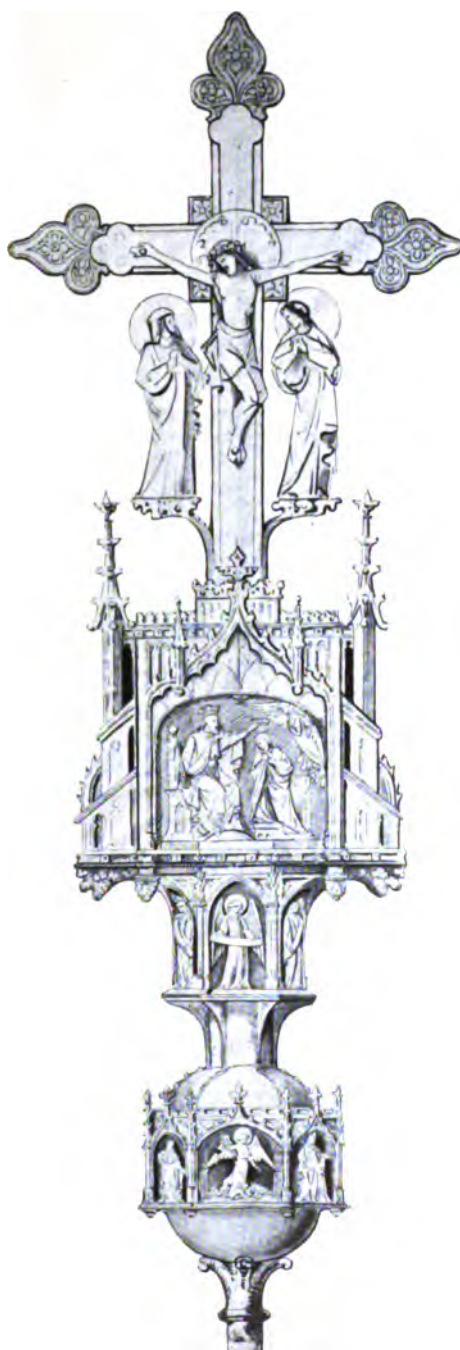
The most important sections³ of the Great Cross, as described in the two Inventories here printed, may be compared and identified; but all the details of the lists can hardly be reconciled, except on the supposition that different pieces were used on different occasions.

The accompanying engraving, which is due to the artistic skill of Mr Edmund Kett, conjecturally represents the appearance of the University Cross on one of these occasions. Light is thrown upon the elaborate ornamentation, to which reference has been made, by remembering that the Cross, which had long

¹ These may have been used alternately to some of the other pieces; or they may have been so arranged as to fit on to other parts.

² These two surplices, the other inventory tells us, were long-sleeved.

³ In the account of the expenses of the University delegates who were commissioned to sell the Cross we have the following items: "For takyng esunder the crosse and the wynehe at Cambridge...xii^d.; for male gurtheris to tye the same withall...viii^d." (Lamb's *Corpus Documents*, p. 97.)



Conjectural Restoration of the University Cross,
by Mr Edmund Kett.

been in the possession of the University, was greatly adorned¹ by Michael Causton, Chancellor in 1361, and Master of Michael House, who died in 1395. He was specially prayed for in the general processions, and his name was mentioned in the old service² for Benefactors:

Item pro anima bone memorie Magistri Micaelis de Causton, nuper Cancellarii hujus Universitatis, qui baculum pro cruce ejusdem decenter ornavit.

There are frequent allusions in the Grace Books to the repair of the Cross, *e.g.*:

Item deliberatum Aurifabro pro emendacione crucis viij^d. (1461); "Item pro reparacione crucis universitatis xij^d." (1465); "Item solutum erat banyster pro reparacione crucis universitatis xxxij^s. iijj^d.; item pro quadam pictura eiusdem crucis...ij^s." (1496); "Item pro emendacione baculi crucis universitatis...ij^s. vj^d." (1506); &c.

There are also very frequent payments to the Cross Bearer, who is styled "Lator crucis," "Baiulator crucis," "Clericus baiulans crucem," "Portator crucis," &c.

An account has already been given of the sale, at the time of the Reformation, of the old Cross, which weighed 336 ozs., and of the enforced purchase of a substitute in the reign of Queen Mary. This second Cross, however, was not to be compared with "the Great Cross" of former days. For, whereas the old silver and the ornaments, which Causton had added, fetched over £90 at its sale, the total cost of the Marian Cross was but £30. And whereas the former had been proudly carried in processions for two or three centuries, the latter was only the property of the University for some ten or eleven years; and during more than half of that period it lay hidden in the vestry over the staircase, until its sale in 1565. We do not know what was the amount of the money added to the University Chest when "the superstitious monuments" were

¹ In Mr Sandars's *Notes on Great St Mary's Church*, p. 9, it is stated that Michael Causton "gave the University Cross." But there is no authority for this statement. In an old Bible (No. 61) in Peterhouse Library there is a note to the following effect: "Michael Causton Baculum Crucis Universitatis Cantabrigie decentissime perornavit."

² E libro Matt. Stokes Bedelli, fol. 26 b.

finally disposed of; nor does any account remain to tell us of its appearance or of its appurtenances. The only description of it which survives is the item in the 1562 Inventory which records "a silver crosse gylted in the custody of the chapleyn of thuniversitie."

Three years after this record the University Cross was sold; and three years after this sale the last University Chaplain died.

Pass a few years more, and other officers arose, other forms and ceremonies, and other buildings. Some of these were certainly expansions and improvements. It is hoped that

"Whate'er of good the old time had
Is living still."

APPENDIX I.

BIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF UNIVERSITY CHAPLAINS.

1256 *Bishop Kilkenny's Chaplains.*

None of the names of these Chaplain-Students have been recorded.

Roger de Heydon's Chaplains.

1276 JOHN GEYSTE (or GOYSTE) was appointed in the year 1276. The indenture of his nomination for life was formerly in the University Registry.

1343 WILLIAM THORPE, appointed in 1343, was perhaps a relation of Robert Thorpe, the second Warden of Pembroke; to which College he was doubtless attached when the Chaplaincy was in 1352 transferred from the University to the care of the Pembroke authorities.

Nigel de Thornton's Chaplains.

1278 ROGER DE THORNTON (or DE RIDELINGFIELD) was a nephew of the founder, Nigel Thornton. The Great Inquisition made in 1278-9 records his name as the holder of property (doubtless that connected with his uncle's trust) in the parishes of St John Zachary and St Mary the Great and in the Fields (see *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 380, 1). Details of the various lawsuits in which he and his brother Adam were engaged may be seen in Appendix II. He held the Chaplaincy for about 20 years, dying (apparently) in 1298.

1298 ADAM DE FLIXTON was by "the Chancellor and Scholars" appointed successor to Roger de Thornton. Adam de Ridelingfield brought an action in 1298-9 claiming the property left by Nigel Thornton; but the case was decided in favour of the University.

13— THURSTON DE HUNYNGHAM, besides being Thornton Chaplain, was one of the University Bedells. In a Subsidy Roll, 1314-5, under "Heywarde," is the entry "Thurstan de Bedel"; while in one of the Rolls of the Gild of St Mary

he is described as "Thurstanus bedellus Capellanus" (see Miss Bateson's *Cambridge Gild Records*).

- 1347 WILLIAM DE ALDERFORD succeeded Thurstan in 1347. The indenture, recording the transfer to him, as Chaplain, of the Thornton "places of land and rent," describes him as W^m. de Alderford, priest, Master of Arts. He was appointed for "the whole of his life."

[*Henry the Sixth's Chaplains.*]

- 1438 Whether "the Chaplains of the University," to whom payments were made under Henry VI's grants in 1438 and 1439, were identical with the Thornton Chaplains or not, we have no record of names at this period. The grants were transferred to King's College in the following reign.]

Thornton Chaplains (continued).

- 1450 (?) THOMAS STOYLE. The date of the appointment of this Chaplain is not known; but, when the records of *Grace Book A* open in 1454, he was the energetic holder of the Thornton trust, with its extended offices of Librarian, &c. In that *Grace Book* his name continually occurs for more than thirty years. He was originally a Fellow of Peterhouse; but was afterwards appointed Master of Clare Hall. He commenced D.D. in 1457; and was Vice-Chancellor in 1466 and again in 1473-4. He was a Commissioner for the building of the New Schools, and was actively engaged in financial and other matters on behalf of the University. He is mentioned as a donor to the Library in 1486.
- 1470 (?) JOHN OTTLEY was Chaplain in 1473, when an Inventory was made of the books in the Library, to which is appended a description of the various parts of the University Cross (see pp. 10, 30 and 60). He had been Proctor a year or two previously. *Grace Book A* contains records of various payments made to Mr Ottley as Chaplain.
- 148- (?) WILLIAM THOMSON, who had been Senior Proctor in 1480-1, was Chaplain in 1484-5, as appears from an entry in *Grace Book A*, in which volume and in its sequel there occur many entries of payments to this official. He was a Fellow of Michael House; had a grace in connection with his B.D. 1485; and afterwards commenced D.D. In 1498 he was

appointed Dean of Auckland. His name occurs several times in inventories as the donor of vestments, &c., in connection with the University Chapel; and he was publicly thanked by the University for his gifts. In 1501 it was granted "sub sigillo communi ut predicet capite cooperto propter dolorem capitis." His death is stated by Cooper to have taken place in 1511; but this is probably a mistake.

- 149- (?) ROBERT CHAPELL, of Peterhouse, took his B.A. in 1488 and was elected to a Fellowship at his College on 23 May, 1490 (Dñs Robtus Chapell in Loco Thoð Bowd). He proceeded M.A. in the same year, when he deposited his Bible as a *cautio*. During his divinity course (B.D. 1503 and D.D. 1507) his cautions were in money (sometimes in curious coins). Two years after he had been enrolled "Doctor in sacra theologia," he was fined "pro non seruando actus." On 16 June, 1512, John Crane succeeded Chapell in his Peterhouse Fellowship. In the *Grace Books* there are not many allusions to Robert Chapell in connection with his University appointments, except as regards the Barrow trust, which he had to administer as Chaplain. These accounts, however, were most elaborately rendered, and are recorded in the University Grace Book from the year 1496 onwards. Soon after taking his full degree in Divinity Dr Chapell seems to have resigned the Chaplaincy.

- 1510 (?) JOHN OSTABY—after an interval, during which the Barrow accounts were administered by Miles Bickerdyke, the Junior Proctor in 1508-9—succeeded to the Chaplaincy. He was a Fellow of Pembroke, and the following account may be given from the *MS. History of the Fellows*, by Bishop Wren preserved in that College¹:

Joannes Osteby alias Hosteby et Ousteby. Eboracensis, Artium Baccalaureus, electus A° 1498. Adhuc Baccalaurei Titulum obtinet Junii 28° A° 1500. Artium Magister 1501. Anno 1505 recensetur inter primos Academiæ Prædicatores, estque Sacellanus Academiæ ordine jam tertius². Anno 1509 Baccalaureus

¹ The writer desires to thank the Master of Pembroke for permission to consult these volumes.

² This enumeration—made in ignorance of previous chaplains—counts Chapell as the first, and Bickerdyke as the second, in the list of University Chaplains.

Theologiæ. A° 1511 solutum ipsi adhuc Sacellano, ab Academia, — 40^a quia tenuit Cathedram Juris, cum illo anno Doctor non esset aliquis. Sacellanus adhuc est ad annum 1520^a. Ex resignatione Roberti Fauliatt præsentatur ad Vicariam Tilneiensem, jam S. Theologiæ Baccalaureus. Verum alibi reperi, Resignationem illam factam fuisse, et auctoritatem concessam Episcopo Norwicensi per Collegium, Pensionem eidem Roberto à vicaria assignandi ad terminum vitæ, A° 1519. Certe Joannes iste fuit generalis Collegii Procurator cum multis aliis Sociis, Augusti 4^o, 1520^o. Atque Vicarius utcunque Tilneiensis, nominatur tamen adhuc ut Socius annis 1521^o et 1522^o idque fortasse propter Pensionem e Vicaria Fauliato assignatam, vel, quia Præses erat et Privilegio aliquo (etiam illa ætate) gaudebat. Anno 1523^o Recep. ab executoribus Mr^r. Hosteby pro Tilney (videtur itaque et Rectoriam tenuisse) . . 13^u

Grace Book B (parts I and II) contains numerous references to John Ostaby in connection with his University duties.

- 1522 HUGH LATIMER is first mentioned as Chaplain in 1522; though there is uncertainty as to the date of the resignation of Ostaby. In dealing in this Biographical List with the names of Latimer and his successors Heath and Ridley, reference may be made to Chapter I for various allusions to the fulfilment of their duties as Chaplains of the University, while their names are so well known that only a brief record is necessary of their public careers. Latimer, who held the appointment of Chaplain till the year 1529, was a Fellow of Clare Hall in 1510; took his B.A. in the same year, and his M.A. in 1514. He preached his famous sermon "on the Card" in 1529; was appointed Bishop of Worcester in 1535, but resigned his see four years later. In 1548 he preached another famous sermon, that "on the Plough." On the accession of Queen Mary he was committed to the Tower, whence he was sent to Oxford, where he was burnt to death as a heretic in 1555.
- 1529 NICHOLAS HEATH succeeded Latimer as Chaplain of the University in 1529. He was elected a Fellow of Christ's College in 1521, but three years later he exchanged that Fellowship for one at Clare Hall. He had proceeded M.A. in 1522. He was appointed Archdeacon of Stafford in 1534, and took his doctor's degree in Divinity the next year. After holding various diplomatic and other appoint-

ments, he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1539, on the resignation of Latimer. He was translated to Rochester four years afterwards. In 1551 he was imprisoned and deprived of his bishopric, to which he was restored on the accession of Mary. In 1555 he was appointed Archbishop of York, and shortly afterwards he was made Chancellor of England. In this latter capacity he proclaimed Elizabeth, by whom he was allowed to retire into private life.

- 1532 NICHOLAS RIDLEY succeeded Heath as University Chaplain in 1532. He was elected a Fellow of Pembroke c. 1524. Wren, in his MS. History of the Fellows of that College, says :

Anno 1534^o Maii 31^o Generalis fit Attornatus in omnibus Collegii negotiis forensibus. Eodemque anno publicè promovetur ad munus Procuratoris Academiæ. Quin et in quadam Epistola extremum Vale-dictoria addit, se Capellanum Academiæ, Publicumque Prælectorem fuisse : Officium autem Sacellani (quod in locum Magistri Glomeriæ¹ successit) tenuit per triennium² : et illud quoque nunc evanuit. Hethe in hoc sacellanatu successit, et ille Latimero, ille Ostelbeio, ille Miloni Bycardick³, ille Roberto Chapell qui primus³ erat.

Ridley, who also studied at the Sorbonne and at Louvain, took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1526, and commenced D.D. in 1540, in which year he was appointed Master of Pembroke. After holding various appointments, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1547, whence he was translated to London in 1550. He supported the cause of Lady Jane Grey, and was shortly afterwards committed to the Tower by Queen Mary. He was sent to Oxford, and, after the celebrated debate in the Divinity School, was burnt alive 16 October, 1555.

- 1540 (?) ALBAN LANGDALE, a native of Yorkshire (B.A. 1532, M.A. 1534), was admitted a Fellow of St John's on the same day as Roger Ascham—26 March, 1534. He was a Proctor in 1539, and shortly afterwards he was probably appointed

¹ "Ita Caius in Hist. p. 129, sed perperam." See Peacock's note on the Master of Glomery, pp. xxxii—xxxvi.

² Ridley held the Chaplaincy for a longer period than this.

³ As remarked on p. 86, Bickerdyke is included by mistake; and Chapell is "first" only as regards Grace Book B.

Chaplain. He took the Divinity course, B.D. 1554, and D.D. ten years later. He was a keen upholder of Roman Catholic Doctrines, and took part in the debates at the beginning of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. He was Chaplain to Viscount Montagu. Among other preferments, he held the Archdeaconry of Chichester; but he was forced into retirement in Elizabeth's reign, and subsequently went abroad.

1554 JOHN DALE (B.A. 1542, M.A. 1545) was a Fellow of Queens' College. He was appointed University Chaplain in 1554. He espoused the Roman Catholic cause, but was keenly rated by Ormanet during the Visitation of Cambridge in Queen Mary's time. Mere, in his Diary, mentions him on several occasions, and in particular gives a curious account of the datary's rebuke; as does Foxe. In Elizabeth's time he was deprived of his Fellowship, and obliged to reside within a certain distance of Newmarket

1556 JOHN STOKES (B.A. 1541, M.A. 1544) was also a Fellow of Queens', in which College he held successively the offices of Bursar, Dean, Vice-President, and President (1560). He followed Dale as Chaplain of the University in 1556. He was appointed Archdeacon of York in 1560, and commenced D.D. in 1564. He took part in the divinity act kept before Elizabeth, when the Queen visited the University in the year just mentioned. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1565-6. During his occupancy of the Chaplaincy many of its ecclesiastical functions were abolished; but Stokes retained the title of *Capellanus Universitatis* until his death, which occurred in 1568. With him the office and the title died; the various duties—which were not suppressed *ut Papistica*—being (as we have seen) divided among other officers.

It may be added that the title Chaplain of the University has, by mistake, been applied by Wren and others to the following graduates:

1508 Miles Bickerdyke administered the Barrow trust between the Chaplaincies of Chapell and Ostaby; but he thus acted as *computans*, because he was Junior Proctor at the time of the vacancy, and not as *Capellanus Universitatis*.

- 1540 *Richard Wolman*, Principal of St Paul's Inn, has been spoken of as a University Chaplain; but this distinguished canonist was dead before the date named.
- M. Williams*, who was chaplain to Wolman, and who perhaps held the exhibition founded by that learned doctor, has also been mistakenly styled *Capellanus Universitatis*.
- 1569 *Christopher Lindley*, a Fellow of Pembroke College, who was Proctor about the date of the death of John Stokes, has persistently been named as a holder of the abolished office. The mistake doubtless arose from the performance by Lindley, as Proctor, of some of the functions which passed from the last of the University Chaplains into the hands of the several successors to his various offices.

APPENDIX II.

The following abstract of the documents relating to the Thornton property is taken from the *Borough of Cambridge, Report of the Borough-Rate Committee, October 3rd, 1850* (pp. 55-57), and was probably compiled by Mr C. H. Cooper, Town Clerk.

COMMON SCHOOLS AND LIBRARY.

1. By the Great Inquisition taken 7 Edw. I (1278 or 1279), it was found that Roger de Redelingfield, chaplain, held one Messuage in the parish of St John of Cambridge, with 26 acres of Land to the same messuage pertaining; which messuage and land he had of the gift of Master Nigellus the physician, his uncle, and the same Master Nigellus bought that messuage with the said land of Cassandra, the daughter of Christian Warin; which said Cassandra had the said messuage and land by hereditary right through the death of Godfrey Ascin her brother, and that he rendered therefore by the year to Robert Quintin of Newport 4s. 5½d., and to the Bailiffs who held the said Town (of Cambridge) at fee-farm for hagabul, 6s. 6d. Also that the same Roger held one Messuage in the same Parish, which he bought of the Parishioners of St Clement, and which was called Dagenhale, and rendered therefore by the year to the Church of St Clement ½d. Furthermore that the same Roger held one Messuage in the Parish of Blessed Mary, which was formerly the Church of the Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, which he had of the gift of the aforesaid Master Nigellus his uncle, and the same Master Nigellus bought it of Richard Carloc; and that he rendered therefore by the year to the Bailiffs of Cambridge, who held the said Town at fee-farm, &c. ½d.

2. Roger de Thornton, chaplain, complained before the King's Justices at Stratford, on Monday next after the Feast of St Andrew the Apostle, 9 Edw. I (1280), that Reginald the son of Jordan de Withersfield, and others, had disseised him of 3 Messuages and 6 acres of Land, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge.

All the defendants, except the said Reginald, pleaded that they claimed nothing in the premises; he pleaded that the plaintiff held the aforesaid tenements of him and alienated them in mortmain, to wit, that before John de Vallibus and his fellows, in the last Eyre at Cambridge, he acknowledged the aforesaid tenements to be the right of the Masters and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, and thereupon a fine was levied between them, whereby the aforesaid Master and Scholars granted to him the same tenements, to hold for the term of his life, and that after his decease the same tenements should revert to the aforesaid Masters and Scholars and their successors, to hold for ever, and that he (Reginald) had therefore seized them into his hands as forfeited in mortmain, as by the statute he lawfully might. The plaintiff denied the gift in mortmain, and alleged that the aforesaid Masters and Scholars never had anything in the same tenements. Judgment was ultimately given that the plaintiff should recover seisin.

3. In the octaves of the Holy Trinity, 14 Edw. I (1286), before the King's Justices at Cambridge, Master Thomas de Skernyngham, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, demanded against Roger de Rydelingfield, chaplain, 3 messuages, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge, as the right of the University aforesaid, and in which the same Roger had not entry, except by Master Robert de Fulburn, formerly Chancellor of the University aforesaid, and the same University, who demised them to him for a term then past, to wit, for the term of 10 years. Roger acknowledged that he had entry in the aforesaid tenements by the aforesaid Master Robert de Fulburn, formerly Chancellor, predecessor of the aforesaid Chancellor; but he well defended, that the same Master did not demise the aforesaid tenements to him for a term of years, but for the term of his life only. Master Thomas could not deny this: and it was therefore considered that the aforesaid Roger go thereof without day, and that the aforesaid Master Thomas take nothing by his writ, but be in mercy for his false claim¹.

4. Edward I, by Writ dated the 17th May, in the 22nd year of his reign (1294), commanded the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire to enquire if it would be to the damage or prejudice of him or any other, if he should grant to Roger de Rydelingfield, chaplain,

¹ From the above and what follows it appears that Roger de Thornton and Roger de Rydelingfield were one and the same person.

that he 4 Messuages and 30 acres of Land, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge, might give and assign to Master Henry Boyton, Chancellor of his University of Cambridge, and the Masters of the same University, for the performance of ghostly suffrages for the souls of the Kings and Queens of England and their children, and other the benefactors of the same University, and for the expenses which, for the defence of the liberties and estate of the same University, might happen to arise, and also in part sustentation of Poor Scholars there dwelling.

By an Inquisition, taken by virtue of the foregoing Writ, it was found that the proposed grant would be to the damage and prejudice of the King in this, that the King would lose his escheat, which was worth £40, if it should happen; and that it would be to the damage and prejudice of the men of the Town of Cambridge in this, that the aforesaid tenements were and ought to be geldable to all aids, contributions, and burdens in the Town of Cambridge in any manner happening. Moreover that the aforesaid 4 messuages and 30 acres of land, with the appurtenances, were held of the King in chief, and rendered therefore per annum to the men of Cambridge, who held the Town of Cambridge of the King at fee-farm, 6s. 6½d. of haggabil for the farm of the same town, and to Lawrence the son of Quintin of Neweport, 4s. 5½d. per annum, and to Roger the son of Jordan de Withersfield, one grain of pepper of rent seek; and that they were worth by the year in all issues 10 marks¹.

5. In the octaves of St Hilary, 27 Edw. I (1298-9), before the King's Justices itinerant at Cambridge, Adam de Ridelingfield, the brother of Roger de Thornton, claimed against the Chancellor and university of Scholars of Cambridge, and Master Adam de Flixton, 4 Messuages and 26 acres of Land, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge, whereof the said Roger died seised in his demesne as of fee. Adam de Flixton pleaded that he held the aforesaid tenements for the term of his life of the demise of the Chancellor and Scholars, whom he called to warrant the same, which they did, and they said that a certain fine was levied in the Court of the

¹ A writ similar to the above had been issued 7th May, 20 Edw. I (1292). It referred also to a contemplated grant to the University by Matilda atte Wolde, of the Advowson of the Church of St Michael. Geoffrey de Pakenham was then Chancellor of the University.

King before John de Vallibus and his fellows, in the last Eyre in that County, between Master Thomas de Skernyngham, then Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and the same university, plaintiffs, and one Roger de Rydelingfield, chaplain, tenant of 3 messuages, with the appurtenances, in Cambridge: by which fine the aforesaid Roger acknowledged the aforesaid messuages, with the appurtenances, to be the right of them the Chancellor and University; and for this the same Chancellor and University granted to the same Roger the aforesaid messuages, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold to the same Roger, of the aforesaid Chancellor and University, for the whole life of the same Roger, and that after the decease of the said Roger the aforesaid messuages with the appurtenances should entirely revert to the aforesaid Chancellor and University, quit of the heirs of the same Roger; and they proffered a certain fine, which witnessed the same. They further pleaded, that whereas he then demanded 4 messuages, the fourth messuage was comprised within the aforesaid three messuages in the aforesaid fine contained; and as to the land, they denied that the aforesaid Roger was seised in his demesne as of fee on the day whereon he died. An Assize being summoned, the Jurors found that the fourth messuage demanded was comprised within the three contained in the fine; also, that as well the aforesaid messuage as the aforesaid land were formerly of one Nigellus, who thereof enfeoffed the aforesaid Roger, chaplain, to have to him and his successors, chaplains celebrating divine service for the soul of the aforesaid Nigellus; and that the aforesaid Roger, on the day on which he died, had no other estate in the aforesaid tenements except by the feoffment aforesaid. They also found that Roger was not seised of the land in his demesne as of fee on the day on which he died. It was considered that the Chancellor and University should go thereof without day, and that the plaintiff should take nothing by his assize, but should be in mercy for his false claim.

6. On the 15th February, 1347 (1346-7), 20 Edw. III, John de Crachal, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and the assembly of the Masters regent and non-regent of the same, granted and demised to Master William de Alderford, priest, M.A., for the whole of his life, two Places in the Town of Cambridge, and certain Lands in the fields of the same Town, and also 10s. 2d. rent yearly, to be perceived of their great Schools in the School-street of

Cambridge, in the name of one perpetual Chapel, for the soul of Master Nigellus de Thorneton, to sing, in the aforesaid University; which places of land and rent Sir Thurston de Hunyngham, priest, lately had and held of the said University in the name of the chapel aforesaid.

7. On the Feast of St Dunstan the Archbishop and Confessor, 19 Ric. II (1395), Mary Suliard, Prioress of the House of St Leonard of Stratford atte Bowe in the County of Middlesex, and the Convent of the same place, granted to Thomas Kelsale, William Wymbel, Richard Baston, and John Sudbury, clerks, their heirs and assigns, one curtilage, with the appurtenances, lying in the Town of Cambridge, in the lane called Schole-lane, between the tenement of the Hospital of St John, commonly called the Hostel of the Holy Cross, on the south part, and the curtilage of Trinity College (Hall) on the north part, abutting on the Schole-lane towards the east, and upon another garden of the same College (Hall) on the west part¹.

¹ The grantees are supposed to have been Trustees for the University (William Wymbel was Proctor 1396, Chancellor 1426, Master of Clare Hall 1429); and it would seem that the above curtilage was added to the site of the schools.

NOTES.

Page 56. The following paragraph shows the Regent Houses, the Parva Capella, and other portions of the School Buildings put to strange uses :—the extract is from the account of Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1564—"The divinity lecture was read in the Logick Schools at 9 o'clock. For the great Divinity School was fraught with wardrop of bedds; and the *Higher* with the office of the spicery. And in the *Little Chappel* (where the Doctors usually stand at divinity disputation) was placed the Groom Porter." (See Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 194.)

Page 72. It is suggested at the bottom of this page that the Partition, which divided the Regent House from the non-Regent House, did not reach to the roof of the Chapel. This suggestion is confirmed by the following curious extract from a *Broadsheet* issued by the Vice-Chancellor, on the visit of George II in 1728 :

"That both Regents and Non-Regents keep their places, that they stand not upon the Benches or Seats, or *look over the Partition* of the Houses, or gather together in Companies, but deport themselves with such Gravity, as becomes so great and venerable a Senate, and that August Presence they will then be in"! (See a copy of the Broadsheet pasted in Baker *MS.* 31.)

Page 73, line 8. The following is a remarkable allusion to the *door*, or *doors*, in the screen: "The Regentes...with violence russed to the middle doares of the said Regent house, and kept them by force shutt...with laughinges, hemminges, hissinges and clamarous speeches violently keeping the doare." (See *MS. Lansd.* lxxvii. art. 6; Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 527.)

Page 81. Adam de Flixton was employed by the Chancellor of the University in the proceedings taken against the Prior of Barnwell in connection with the non-payment of the Kilkenny Chaplains. (See Mr J. W. Clark's forthcoming volume on *Barnwell Abbey*, pp. 94-96.)

Page 82. Dr Stoye died on June 3rd, 1487; and his virtues were commemorated on a tablet in St Edward's Church. (See Fuller's notes, in Baker *MS. B.* p. 257.)

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REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, LITT.D., D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., F.B.A.,

ELRINGTON AND BOSWORTH PROFESSOR OF ANGLO-SAXON
AND FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE.



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THE PLACE-NAMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

IN 1901 my essay on "The Place-names of Cambridgeshire" was published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and a little later the same Society published my second essay of the same character on "The Place-names of Huntingdonshire." In 1904 the East Herts. Archæological Society accepted from me and published a somewhat larger pamphlet on "The Place-names of Hertfordshire," nearly all of which had previously appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Hertfordshire Mercury*.

The Editor of the *Bedfordshire Standard* kindly granted me permission to send him, from time to time, during the year 1905, portions of a similar essay on "The Place-names of Bedfordshire," which now appears in a revised form; on which account I am indebted, for the third time, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

A few preliminary considerations, of wide application, may conveniently be here given.

1. The place-names of Bedfordshire are nearly all of native English origin; and are always formed according to the strict rules of Anglo-Saxon grammar.

2. Nearly all these names are of one or two types. Either they are significant of possession, like Eversholt; or they are descriptive of position, like Millbrook. The former name refers to a *holt*, i.e. a plantation or wooded hill, which was first permanently taken possession of by a squatter whose name, in modern spelling, would be *Ever*; whilst the latter refers to a

brook on which some one built a useful and conspicuous *mill*. The name *Ever* occurs again in Evers-den (Cambs.) and in Evers-ley (Hants.). It is spelt *euer* in Middle English (where the *u* is sounded as *v*), *Eofor* in Anglo-Saxon, *Eber* in German, and *Aper* in Latin. The literal sense is 'a boar,' but it was freely used as a personal name. The English name *Eofor* occurs in the famous old poem entitled *Bēowulf*, and the Roman name *Aper* is mentioned by Tacitus. The German *Eberhart* (hard or strong boar) was spelt *Euerard* by the Normans; whence our modern *Everard*.

A place-name like *Millbrook* is formed, like *cart-horse*, by simple juxtaposition; but in possessive names the former part of the word occurs in the genitive case. *Evers-* answers to the A.S. (Anglo-Saxon) *eofor-es*, gen. of *eofor*. The genitive form depends, in Anglo-Saxon, partly on gender; but if we confine our attention to the names of men, which are masculine, the rules are not difficult. In fact, these two will suffice.

1. If the nominative ends in *-i* (in very early times) or in *-e* (as is more usual) or in a consonant, then the genitive ends in *-es*. Examples: *Ini*, later form *Ine*, gen. *Ines*; *Eofor*, gen. *Eofores*. *Ini* or *Ine* was a famous king of Wessex, only known (I fear) to most of us in the Latinised form *Ina*; which was certainly not his real name.

2. Nearly all other nominatives end in *-a*, and take a genitive in *-an*. Thus the genitive of *Offa* is *Offan*.

Conversely, the genitive form *Ines* assures us at once that the nominative could not have been *Ina* in true English. But it may be said, once for all, that our old Latin historians made a sad hash of all native names.

The only book that seems to have been occasionally consulted by former investigators is the celebrated *Domesday Book*; but it must be remembered that in many cases this famous record only gives Norman spellings, and that such spellings not unfrequently misrepresent such English sounds as the Norman scribes could not easily pronounce. It is usually the case that a somewhat later spelling by a native scribe gives a far better idea of the true sound of the name.

The most authentic sources of information are the Anglo-Saxon Charters. I refer to the well-known editions by Kemble and Birch, and to the select charters edited by Earle and Thorpe. We find also a few names in the Crawford Charters, edited by Napier and Stevenson. There is no good county history. The account of Bedfordshire in Camden's *Britannia* is very brief and poor, and the few remarks upon place-names are worthless. His statement that Bedford "implies *beds and inns at a ford*" is ludicrous, and cannot be reconciled with his other (correct) statement, that one A.S. form of the name was *Bedan-ford*. For the A.S. *bed* is neuter, with a gen. singular *beddes* and a genitive plural *bedda*; and not one of its cases ends in *-an*. Moreover, it doubles its *d* in the course of declension.

Besides the Charters, it is also necessary to consult the A.S. Chronicle, and any other early writings in which place-names are mentioned. Some of the Charters only exist in late copies, and some of these exhibit Norman spellings, the peculiarities of which must be allowed for.

I append the names of some other useful records; with the abbreviations which denote them.

A.M.—*Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series); vol. iii. 1866. This volume contains the *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*.

Cat.—A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Record Series).

C.R.—Charter Rolls; Calendar of the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office; vol. i. A.D. 1226—1257. Ed. 1903.

Cl. R.—Close Rolls; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*. Ed. T. D. Hardy (1833). Vol. i. (1204—1224).

Cl. R. 2.—The same (1844); vol. ii. (1224—1227).

D.B.—Domesday Book.

E.T.—*Ecclesiastica Taxatio* (1291). Ed. 1802.

Ex. R.—Exchequer Rolls; *Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio*; vol. i. Ed. 1805.

F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.

H.R.—Hundred Rolls (*Rotuli Hundredorum*); vol. i.

H.R., vol. ii.—The same; vol. ii.

I.p.m.—*Inquisitiones post Mortem, sive Escastarum*; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).

R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series). See the index in vol. iii.

R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary; ed. W. H. Hart. See the index in vol. iii.

T.N.—Testa de Nevill (Hen. III.—Edw. I.).

T.R.—Tower Rolls; Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati; ed. T. D. Hardy (1837).

Many of these contain an index of personal names as well as of place-names. Both should be consulted, because many of the former refer to the latter.

When I cite an Anglo-Saxon personal name as being on record, I mean that it is duly inserted in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, which contains a fairly complete list of all such A.S. names as are found in printed documents.

In explaining the meanings of place-names, it is best and clearest to arrange them according to the suffixes which they contain. Thus Melchbourne and Woburn will be considered together, because both contain the suffix *-bourne* or *-burn*.

The number of suffixes found in Bedfordshire is upwards of forty, and they are all of native English origin; a fact which is of great significance. There is scarcely a trace of Norse or Danish, and if there be any Celtic, it only occurs in river-names, which I do not pretend to explain. A good deal of worthless talk has been spent in the past in trying to find Celtic origins for many words that are not Celtic at all. There has never been much Welsh in Bedfordshire since the time of Egberht, at the latest.

The English suffixes found in Bedfordshire are, most of them, readily intelligible, and may conveniently be here enumerated. The chief ones are: *-borough*, *-bourne*, *-bridge*, *-brook*, *-bury*, *-cliff*, *-cote* or *-cot*, *-den*, *-dish*, *-don*, *-ey*, *-field*, *-ford*, *-grave*, *-hale* (*-hall*), *-ham*, *-hanger*, *-head*, *-hill*, *-hoe*, *-holt*, *-hurst*, *-ing*, *-lake*, *-ley*, *-low*, *-mead*, *-mount* (*-mont*), *-pool*, *-sand*, *-snade*, *-stead*, *-stoke*, *-stow*, *-thorpe* (*-drop*), *-ton*, *-tree*, *-wade*, *-well*, *-wick*, *-wold*, *-worth*, and *-yate*. Some of these require some elucidation, but they are not difficult. It is further convenient to consider at the same time such names as Hatch and Heath, because they are used as suffixes in other counties, though they here occur alone. A few other names are noted afterwards.

As to the names selected, they include all (I believe) that are recorded in Kelly's Post Office Directory of Bedfordshire (1903); not excepting small hamlets that are included under the heading of the parish in which they are situate. The smallest appears to be Budna, included in Northill, and represented in the Directory by a single house.

The various suffixes above noted will now be discussed in their alphabetical order. Nearly all the names are to be found in Bacon's County Atlas, though they are not all in the index. The index to Philips' County Atlas is, on the whole, a better one. Pigot's Atlas (1831) has some older spellings.

1. BOROUGH.

Borough is from the A.S. *burh*, of which the oldest sense was a small fort. The dative case *byrig* is the source of the modern E. *bury*. See further under BURY (p. 8).

EDDLESBOROUGH.—Bacon's Atlas marks Eddlesborough Green, near Eaton Bray, as being in Beds., though Eddlesborough itself is in Bucks. However, as the sense is certain, it may as well be here considered. We find these spellings: *Edolvesbur'*, Cat.; *Edulvesburwe*, F.A.; *Eadulfes-*, as a prefix in Kemble's Index to his Codex Diplomaticus. Eadulf is a late spelling of Eadwulf; and the meaning is 'Eadwulf's borough.' Elstree in Herts. means 'Eadwulf's tree.' Of the common name Eadwulf, no less than eighty examples have been recorded.

2. BOURNE, BURN.

The A.S. *burn* meant a brook or a small stream. Examples occur in Husborne Crawley, Melchbourne, Redbornestoke, and Woburn.

HUSBORNE CRAWLEY.—Called in Philips' Atlas by the name of Crawley Husborne. In Pigot, Husborn and Crawley are marked as separate, Husborn being the more northerly. Bacon marks a Crawley Heath. When double names of this

kind occur, one of them (usually the latter) is often the name of the chief family resident in (or once owners of) the place in question. But in this case both names are place-names in origin, though Crawley became a family name also. We find the following old spellings:—*Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craulee*, T.N.; *Husseburn*, E.T.; *Husseburne*, R.B., I.p.m., A.M.; *Husseburne Craule*, F.A.; *Husseburne Crawel*, H.R. In a great many instances, the suffix *-e*, as found in D.B. and other Middle English spellings, represents the A.S. suffix *-an*, a genitive form from a nominative in *-a*; and so, in this case likewise, *Husse* represents *Hussan*, genitive of the A.S. name *Hussa*, of which four examples are known. Hence *Husborne* means 'Hussa's stream.' The stream is also known as *Crawley Brook*. The meaning of *Crawley* is given under *-LEY* (p. 37).

MELCHBOURNE.—Spelt *Melceburne*, D.B.; *Melcheburne*, R.C.; *Melcheburn*, H.R., E.T., T.R.; *Melchbourne*, F.A. The prefix answers in form to the Middle English *melche*, *milche*, modern E. *milch*, full of milk; but this epithet seems only to be applied to cows. Another *melch*, in the English Dialect Dictionary, means 'mellow' or 'soft,' but seems to be only applied to fruit or eatables. There is another *melske* in a Danish dialect, given by Molbeck, answering to A.S. *milisc*, which meant 'sweet,' as applied to mead or to a honeyed drink. It is possible that the last of these is here referred to.

REDBOURNESTOKE.—Here Redbourne seems to mean 'red stream'; see further under *-STOKE* (p. 44).

WOBURN.—Spelt *Woburne*, *Woberne*, D.B.; *Woburne*, R.B.; *Woburn*, H.R.; *Wouburne*, F.A.; *Wuburn*, Cat. In an A.S. Charter dated 969, mention is made of the *Woburningas* or men of *Woburn*; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517. From A.S. *wōh burn*; literally, 'crooked stream.' I find it impossible to trace streams on the new Ordnance map; what with 'contour-lines' and boundary lines, the task is hopeless. Any other map is often clearer; the crooked stream appears in Pigot's Atlas (1831).

3. BRIDGE.

STANBRIDGE.—Spelt *Stanbrigge*, F.A.; *Stanbrugge*, A.M.; *Stanbruge*, I.p.m. The A.S. *brycg*, a bridge, is spelt both *brigge* and *brugge* in Middle English. The whole name appears in the A.S. *Stānbrycg*, i.e. 'stone bridge.' The A.S. long *a* is shortened before *nb*, instead of becoming the long *o* in *stone*. The bridge is at Stanbridge Ford, near the station, at some distance from the village. Stone bridges were once rare, and therefore notable.

4. BROOK.

Examples occur in Millbrook, Sharnbrook, and Tilbrook.

MILLBROOK.—Spelt *Melebroc*, D.B.; *Milebrok*, H.R.; *Mulebrok*, *Melebroc*, F.A. The vowels, *e*, *i*, *u*, are various ways of representing the A.S. *y*, which was sounded like the German modified short *ü*, and had no invariable equivalent in the French alphabet used by Norman scribes. The A.S. form is *mylen-brōc*; from *mylen*, a mill, and *brōc*, a brook. *Mylen* is not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *molina*, a mill.

SHARNBROOK.—Spelt *Scernebroc*, *Sernebvoc*, D.B.; *Scharnebroke*, *Schernebroke*, F.A.; *Scharnbrok*, E.T. The Normans wrote both *sc* and *s* to denote *sh*, when an *e* followed. The A.S. prefix is *scearn*, meaning 'filth'; showing that the brook, at one time, was in a bad condition. A dung-beetle is still called a *sharn-beetle* in Hampshire.

TILBROOK.—Spelt *Tilebroc*, D.B.; *Tylebrok*, F.A. Here the *-e*, as usual, represents an A.S. genitive suffix *-an*; and *Tilebroc* answers to A.S. *Tīlan brōc*, i.e. 'Tila's brook.' Many names ending in *-a* were really pet-names or shortened names, and *Tila* may very well have been a pet-name for *Tilbeorht*, a name which occurs six times. Bacon's Atlas calls the brook the river Til, but this is doubtless a name made out of Tilbrook; the very same stream, after passing Kimbolton, is called the Kym, in spite of the fact that Kimbolton means 'Cynebald's town'!

5. BURY.

The form *bury* represents the A.S. *byrig*, really the dative case of *burh*, a fort, modern E. *borough*. The sense is 'fort,' and it is common in many counties. Place-names, in Anglo-Saxon, were often in the dative case, the preposition *æt* (modern E. *at*) being understood.

Examples occur in Howbury, Limbury, and Millowbury. Also in Ickwell Bury, and in other cases where it is written separately.

HOWBURY lies to the North of the Ouse, between Bedford and Barford. The prefix *How* is the same as the *Hough* in Houghton, and means 'a spur of a hill.' See further under HOUGHTON (p. 50). The sense is 'hill-fort.'

LIMBURY.—Called in Kelly's Directory Limbury-cum-Biscot; and near Leagrave. These places lie to the N.W. of Luton. A certain John de Lymberi is mentioned in F.A., p. 145, who at p. 155 of the same is called John de Lyndberi. We thus learn that Limbury stands for an older form Lindbury, which is easily understood; since the A.S. *lind* means a linden-tree or lime-tree. The sense is 'lime-tree-fort.'

MILLOWBURY.—Named from Millow, to the N. of Edworth; which is spelt *Melehov*, D.B.; *Mello*, C.R.; *mulnho*, F.A. Here *mele*, *mel*, *muln* are all from the A.S. *mylen*, a mill; see MILLBROOK (p. 7). *Ho* represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill; which is further explained under the heading HOE (p. 29). Thus Millowbury is 'the fort on the mill-hill,' or 'mill-hill-fort.'

6. CLIFF.

CLIFF is here used in the sense of declivity or steep hill. It occurs in HOCKLIFFE, whence the name of the poet Hoccleve. Spelt *Hocheleia* (in a Latinised form), D.B. Better spelt *Hocclive*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Hocclyve*, I.p.m., F.A.

In the will of Æthelstan Ætheling, one of the six sons of Æthelred II., king of England, by his first wife, dated 1015, there is mention of land at Hocganclife; where *clife* is the dative of *clif*, a cliff. This is identified with Hockliffe by

Thorpe, in his *Diplomatarium*, p. 561. The sense is 'Hocga's cliff' The A.S. *cg* was pronounced as *gg*. The A.S. Hocga is allied to *hocg*, a hog; which occurs also as a proper name in Hocges-tun, i.e. Hog's town, noted in Kemble's Index, vol. vi. p. 300.

The A.S. *hocg*, a hog, is not given in any dictionary, and its existence was not known, until it was discovered by myself in some fragments of a charter, written on two strips of parchment lately found inside a book-cover in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge. See Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Society, Michaelmas Term, 1902; p. 15.

7. COTE, or COT.

Cote or *Cot* is the old word for a cottage or small detached house. The double form is due to the double form in Anglo-Saxon, viz. *cote*, dative, and *cot*, nom.; or else *cotan*, dat., from the fem. nom. *cote*. It occurs in Biscott, Caldecote, Caulcott, Eastcotts, Holcut or Hulcote, and Thorncote.

BISCOTT, or BISCOT; N.W. of Luton.—Short for Bishop's Cote. We have this on the evidence of Domesday Book, where it is spelt *Bissopescote*. The sound of *sh* was often denoted by *ss* by Norman scribes.

CALDECOTE; E. of Northill.—Spelt *Caldecote*, I.p.m.; found also in other counties, as Cambs., Northamptonshire, Rutland and Warwickshire. It represents the A.S. dative *cealdan cote*, or rather the Old Mercian *caldan cote*, meaning 'at the cold cot'; as explained in my Place-names of Cambs., p. 28. By 'cold' was meant that it was in a bleak situation; or, possibly, that it was a mere shelter, unprovided with a fire-place.

CAULCOTT; in Lower Shelton, near Marston Moretaine.—The same name, but occurring in the nom. case. Old Mercian *cald cot*, i.e. 'cold cot.' Spelt *Calcote*, I.p.m. But of course it may have been shortened from the form above.

EASTCOTTS; near Cardington.—Spelt *Estcote*, R.B. The prefix means *east*, formerly spelt *est*.

HOLCOT, or HULCOTE; near Salford.—Both spellings are in Kelly's Directory. The former should be Holcot, as *cut* is unmeaning. Spelt *Holcot*, F.A.; *Holcote*, E.T.; *Holecote*, D.B. The last spelling represents the A.S. *Holacotan*, which occurs in King Eadgar's grant of land at Aspley, A.D. 969; printed in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii. 517. This evidently refers to this very place. *Cotan* is the dat. case of the weak fem. sb. *cote*, a cot. *Hola* is the A.S. *hola*, a hole, or hollow place, closely allied to the adj. *hol*, hollow. The sense is 'cot in the hollow.'

THORNCOTE; in Northill.—*I.e.* 'cot by the thorn-tree.'

8. DEN, DEAN.

From the A.S. *denu*, a valley. Much confused with *-don* in modern names; but they can usually be separated by the old spellings. Still, the separation requires great care.

It occurs in Dean, Ravensden, Stagsden, Stodden, Wilden, and Yelden or Yelden. But in Battlesden, Harrowden, Maulden, Warden, the suffix should rather be *-don*; and they are treated accordingly under that heading. It is quite possible that both suffixes, *-den* and *-don*, may have been used in some instances; *-den* would then refer to the valley itself, and *-don* to the hill above it.

DEAN.—A common name in many counties; from the A.S. *denu*, dat. case *dene*, a valley. Spelt *Dene*, D.B., T.N., I.p.m.; *Deen*, R.C. Dean, in Hants., is represented by A.S. *cet dene*, where *dene* is the dat. case; see Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 487.

RAVENS DEN.—Kelly remarks that it was formerly *Ramesden*, a spelling I have not found. But it makes no difference to the sense, because the A.S. *hræfn*, a raven, was also spelt *hræmn* or *hræm*. The sense is 'Raven's valley.' Raven was a personal name, as well as the name of a bird. It is remarkable that Ramsey, in Hunts., does not mean 'Ram's island,' but 'Raven's island.'

As to the old spellings, we find *Ravenisden*, H.R.; *Ravenysdene*, F.A.; but also *Ravenesdon*, E.T.; *Ravensdon*, I.p.m.

STAGSDEN.—Evidently so named by popular etymology; as if from *stag*, with which it has nothing whatever to do. Kelly says, “formerly *Stachedene* and *Staggisdene*.” The latter I have not found; it can only be quite a late and worthless spelling. The forms are: *Stachdene*, *Stachedene*, D.B.; *Stachedene*, F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Stacheden*, H.R. Also *Stachesdene*, F.A.; *Stachisdene*, H.R., vol. ii. In I.p.m. we also find mention of a place named *Stache* (Somersets.), and of a *Stachewelle*.

Stachis or *Staches* appears to be not A.S., but rather the gen. case of a Norman form *Stache*, which I take to be short for *Eustache*, the Norman or Northern French equivalent of the French *Eustace*. Similarly, in the Close Rolls, we find *Magister Stachius*, short for *Eustachius*; and *Stace*, as a proper name, is short for *Eustace*, which was formerly accented on the *a*. As a matter of fact, D.B. records that Earl Eustace had land in Stagsden, so that the place may easily have been named after him, as he was a person of great consequence at that date. The land had originally been granted to his father, who is known to history as Count Eustace II., of Boulogne. This Eustace II. married no less a person than the sister of Edward the Confessor, and had caused no small trouble by his outrageous conduct at Dover, as is duly narrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1048. He was wounded in the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded by William with grants of land in no less than ten counties. See the Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire, by W. Airy, 1881; p. 30. It is a pity that Mr Airy should refer, at p. viii, to the “evident” derivation from “the two A.S. words *stag* and *den*”; for *stag* is not an A.S. word at all, but Norse. It occurs once, in the Laws of Cnut, where it has to be explained; but did not really find its way into English till long afterwards. I doubt if it can be found earlier than the fifteenth century.

STODDEN.—The name of a hundred. Spelt *Stodene*, *Stodden*, D.B.; *Stodden*, H.R. From A.S. *stōd*, a stud of horses. The sense is ‘stud-valley.’

WILDEN.—Spelt *Wildene*, D.B.; *Wylden*, E.T.; *Weledene*, F.A. We have here to do with a descriptive name, as the

forms suggest. In the present case, *wil* may be short for the A.S. *wilig* (in which the final *g* was hardly heard), an occasional form of *welig*, a willow tree, which will account for the spelling *Wele*. A willow is still called a *willy* in many provincial dialects. We have clear evidence that Willbury Hill (Herts.) is from the same source; as shown in my Place-names of Herts., p. 71. The hundred of Willey is similarly named; see it discussed below, under the suffix -LEY (p. 39). Thus Wilden means 'willow-valley.'

YILDEN, or YELDEN.—The old spellings are curious, viz. *Giveldene*, D.B.; *Givelden*, Cl. R.; *Gyuelden*, E.T.; *Gyvelden*, *Yeveldene*, F.A. The A.S. *g* (before *i*) was sounded as *y*; and all the prefixes may be reduced to an A.S. form *Gifel*, in which the intervocalic *f* was sounded as *v*. This A.S. *Gifel* is a river-name, the same as the modern *Ivel*. There is another and larger Ivel, which flows through Biggleswade, and a third Ivel in Somersetshire, which flows through Ivelchester or Ilchester. And it is much to be suspected that the river Isle, in Somersetshire, which flows past Ilminster, is only another form of the same name. See it further discussed under NORTHILL (p. 34), which is considered under the suffix -ILL, since it is wholly unconnected with the more common suffix -HILL. We may explain Yelden as Iveldene, or 'Ivel valley.'

9. DISH.

The English *dish* (A.S. *disc*) is sometimes used in the sense of cup or hollow; the Oxford Dictionary explains it as sometimes meaning a concave surface, or a depression in a field.

FARNDISH; near Poddington.—Spelt *Fernadis*, D.B.; *Farnesdisch*, T.N.; *Farendis*, E.T.; *Farnedis*, H.R., vol. ii., F.A.; *Farndisch*, I.p.m. Also *Farnadich*, *Farnediche*, F.A. These forms strongly support the view that the suffix is really *dish*, and not *diche*. The Norman scribes usually write *s* for *sh*, but *dice* or *diche* for *ditch*. Compare the D.B. spellings *Sernebroc* for Sharnbrook, *Eseltone* for Shelton, and *Sethlindone* for Shillington. Neither does *Farndish* stand alone; for there is a Brookdish on the N. bank of the river Waveney, a little below

Scole, in Norfolk; and there may be others. In spite of the varying spellings of the former element, the word meant is clearly the A.S. *fearn*, fern, which is very common in place-names. Kemble's Index (p. 286) has a whole column of instances. It is possible that *Ferna-* may represent the gen. pl. *fearna*, 'of ferns.'

The sense, viz. 'fern-hollow,' is precisely the same as that of Farncombe in Surrey, where *combe* is of Celtic origin, and equivalent to the Welsh *cwm*, a hollow, a dingle.

10. DOWN, or DON.

A *down*, A.S. *dūn*, of Celtic origin, meant a hill-fort, or often simply a hill, especially one with a more or less flat top. When it occurs as an unaccented suffix, it is reduced to the form *-don*, and is then often confused, in modern times, with the suffix *-den*, a valley, with an almost opposite sense; and sometimes with *-ton*. We can often distinguish them by the old spellings; but there may be instances in which the name was really double, *-den* being applied to the valley, and *-don* to the hill above it.

Examples occur in Battlesden, Caddington, Harlington, Harrowden, Honeydon, Maulden, Pegsdon, Roxton, Shillington, Stondon, Sundon, and Warden.

BATTLEDSEN.—Spelt *Badelesdone*, *Badelestone*, D.B.; *Badelesdone*, F.A.; *Badelesdon*, E.T.; *Badeleston*, I.p.m. These forms answer to an A.S. *Badeles dūn*, i.e. 'Badel's down'; where *Badel* is a personal name. This name is not otherwise known; but the closely related weak form *Badela* occurs in *Badelan brōc*, i.e. 'Badela's brook'; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343, l. 19. As *d* is sometimes altered to *th* by confusion with the A.S. crossed *d* (with the sound of *th*) it is probable that the name *Batheles mere* (in R.C.) is an error for *Badeles mere*.

CADDINGTON; near Luton.—Spelt *Cadendone*, D.B., F.A.; *Cadendon*, Cat.; *Cadindon*, E.T., H.R.; *Kadindon*, T.N. From A.S. *Cadan-dūn*, lit. 'Cada's down.' Cada is a known name.

In this case, the original suffix *-an* has first become *-en* and then *-in*; both of which changes are very common. And finally

-ing has been substituted for *-in*, and *-don* turned into *-ton* by confusion with the numerous names that end in *-ington*.

HARLINGTON, to the N.E. of Toddington, on the Midland Railway.—Spelt *Herlingdone*, D.B., A.M.; *Herlingdon*, E.T., F.A., H.R. It thus appears that the original suffix was *-don*, for *down*. *Herling* answers to the A.S. *Herlinga*, gen. pl.; as seen in *Herlingaham*, cited in Kemble's Index. *Herlinga* is the genitive of the pl. *Herlingas*, i.e. sons or tribe of *Herl*. But *Herl* is obviously a much contracted form, and due to some A.S. name beginning with the very common prefix *Here-*. Almost certainly, *Herl* here represents *Herulf*, a common contraction of *Herewulf*, a well authenticated name. We may conclude that Harlington means the 'Herewulfings' down,' or the down occupied by the family of *Herewulf*. The A.S. *-ing*, meaning 'son of,' and the pl. *-ingas*, meaning 'sons of,' or 'family of,' are extremely common. Neither is there any difficulty in the reduction of *wulf*, often called *ulf*, to a simple *l*; for it occurs again in Eddlesborough and Elstree, as has been already explained under BOROUGH (p. 5). There is another Harlington in Middlesex, and an East and West Harling in Norfolk. I explained Harlton in Cambs. as meaning 'Herela's town,' where "Herela is a pet-name formed from a name beginning with *Here*—such as *Herebeald* or *Herefrith*." Of course I should rather have said—"such as *Herewulf*," which would have accounted for the *l* at once.

HARROWDEN; near Cardington.—This is a clear case of a double sense in the suffix. Harrowden is marked in the Ordnance Map as being in a valley; but it must have taken its name from the hill above, marked as Tinker's Hill, and rising to the height of 135 feet above the sea. For the old spellings clearly show this. It is spelt *Herghetone*, *Hergentone* in D.B.; but *-tone* is an error for *-don*. We find elsewhere *Harwedone*, R.B.; *Harewedon*, I.p.m.; and *John de Harwedone*, R.C. The D.B. form *herghe* represents the A.S. *hearge*, dat. of *hearth*, a heathen temple. This is clearly shown in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 530, where *æt hearge* (lit. at Harrow) is employed to denote Harrow-on-the-Hill, in Middlesex. The sense is 'temple-down.'

We obtain, from the very names, the interesting information that there were once heathen temples both at Harrowden and on the hill at Harrow. *Hearh* was only applied to an old heathen place of worship, which was often on a hill-top. As the English usually destroyed these, after their conversion to Christianity, we can hardly expect to find relics of them now. Yet it is highly probable that the conspicuous church at Harrow-on-the-Hill occupies the very site once selected for the worship of idols.

HONEYDON, to the west of Eaton Socon.—The hill is conspicuously marked in Bacon's Atlas. I find no early notice of it; but it doubtless means 'honey down.' The A.S. *hunig*, honey, appears in several place-names; notably in Honeybourne, co. Worcester, spelt *hunig-burnan* (in the dative) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 2.

MAULDEN, near Ampthill.—The road from Clophill to Maulden rises to 278 feet above the sea. The name is probably of double significance, Maulden having been suggested by an older Maldon. Spellings are *Meldone*, D.B.; *Maldon* (Beds.), E.T.; *Maldone*, *Maldene*, F.A.; *Meldone*, *Maudone*, R.B. There is another Maldon in Essex, mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle as early as A.D. 913. It is there spelt *Mældun*; and in the Parker MS. the *æ* is marked as long. This accounts for the spelling *Meldone*, with *e*. The A.S. *mæl* (with long *æ*) meant a cross, mark, crucifix; *Cristes mæl* meant the sign of the cross. Maldon means 'cross-down,' and it is probable enough that crosses were erected at both places in some conspicuous position.

PEGSDON, or PEGSDEN; to the east of Hexton (Herts).—Spelt *Pechesdone*, D.B.; *Pekesdone*, F.A. Also *Pekesdene*, *Pekysdene*, *Pekesden* (in Shillington), R.C.; *Pecchesdene*, A.M. As *che* in D.B. means *ke*, usually written *ce* in A.S., the equivalent form to *Pekesdone* in A.S. is *Pēces dūn* or *Pēaces dūn*; which may be associated with *Pēaces dæl* in the will of Æthelstan Ætheling (A.D. 1015) in Earle, Land Charters, p. 226, l. 1. If this be right, the sense was 'Pēac's down'; or, in modern spelling 'Peak's down.' The name may be connected with the Peak

in Derbyshire, called *Pēac-lond* in A.S. We find the name of Miles de Pek, who was a tenant in Shillington, and Richardus de Pecco; both in R.C.

ROXTON, N.W. of Tempsford.—Originally from a form which should have given Roxdon. Spelt *Rochesdon*, *Roche stone*, D.B.; *Rokesdone*, *Rokesdon*, F.A.; *Rokisdun*, Cl.R.; *Rokesdon*, E.T. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hrōces*, gen. of *Hrōc*, a rook, also used as a personal name. The sense is 'Rook's down.'

There is a RUXOX FARM to the W. of Flitton. The spellings *Rokesac*, *Rokeshoc*, in A.M., explain it. Both *ac* and *hoc* represent the A.S. *āc*, an oak; so that Ruxox simply means 'Rook's oaks,' originally 'Rook's oak,' in the singular.

SHILLINGTON.—Beyond all doubt a more correct form is Shitlington, or rather Shitlingdon. It is spelt Shitlington in Pigot's Atlas (1831) and in Magna Britannia (1720). Still earlier, the suffix is *-don*. The old spellings are *Sethlindone* (for *Shetlindone*), D.B.; *Scitlingdune*, *Scutlingdon*, *Scytlingedune*, *Schitlingedune*, R.C.; *Shutlyngdon*, Cat. In Thorpe's Diplomatarium, p. 383, a late copy of a charter has the false form *Sucklingdon*, but the footnote gives *Scytlingedune* (for *Scytlinga dūne*), from a much better MS. It may be noted that the *e* in the D.B. form, and the *i* and *u* in the other forms, all alike represent an A.S. *y*. Hence the name means 'the down of the Scytlings,' or sons of Scytel (or Scytela), a diminutive form connected with the known name Scytta, which means 'an archer': from *scēotan*, to shoot.

STONDON, near Henlow railway-station.—Spelt *Standone*, D.B., R.C.; *Stondone*, R.C.; *Staundone*, R.C.; *Staundon*, H.R., E.T. All from A.S. *Stāndūn* (Kemble), i.e. 'stone-down.'

SUNDON.—Spelt *Sonedone*, D.B.; *Sonendon*, E.T.; *Sunondone*, *Sunendune*, A.M.; *Souendone*, *Souyndone* (with *u* misprinted for *n*), F.A. All from A.S. *Sunnan-dūn*, i.e. 'down of the Sun'; see Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 580. The peculiar gen. form *sunnan*, in place of the usual *sunn-* in composition, suggests that the goddess Sunne (the Sun) was once worshipped here in heathen times.

WARDEN, or OLD WARDEN.—Spelt *Wardone*, D.B., F.A.; *Wardon*, H.R., E.T.; *Wardune*, R.C., R.B. From the A.S. *weard-dūn*, lit. 'ward-down,' i.e. a look-out hill, a hill used for watching the approach of strangers.

11. EY.

The suffix *-ey* (sometimes *-y*) represents the Old Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, *īg*, an island. The term was freely applied to sites that were not real islands, but had water partly surrounding them. Examples are seen in Arlesey, Sandy and Turvey.

ARLESEY.—Also spelt *Arsley* (as in Philips' Atlas), but incorrectly. Spelt *Alricesei*, *Alriceseie*, D.B.; *Alrichesey*, l.p.m.; *Alricheseye*, *Aylrichesheye*, F.A. The spelling *heye* for *eye* by Norman scribes is not uncommon. The fullest form is the last, neglecting the second *h*. *Aylriches* is the regular representative of A.S. *Ægelrīces*, a late form of *Æthelrīces*; and the sense is 'Æthelrīc's island.' The name *Æthelrīc* (also spelt *Ægelrīc*, *Ailrīc*) is extremely common; more than sixty examples of it are known.

SANDY.—D.B. has *in Sandeia*, in the ablative case; *Sandeye*, F.A.; *Saundeye*, E.T.; *Sondheye*, H.R. *Eye* is the usual M.E. spelling; *heye* is very characteristic of a Norman scribe. They seldom understood the true use of *h* before the fourteenth century. The sense is certainly 'sand-island'; not the adj. *sandy* (A.S. *sandig*), which was spelt *sandy* in Middle English, just as it is now.

TURVEY.—Spelt *Toruei*, *Torueie*, D.B. (with *u* for *v*); *Turf-eye*, *Turveye*, Exchequer Rolls; *Torfeye*, *Tourveye*, F.A.; *Turveye*, *Turfeye*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Tureueya*, E.T. We often find *o* written for *u* by Norman scribes. The prefix is the A.S. *turf*, turf; and the sense is 'turf-island.'

12. FIELD.

As in Cranfield, Froxfield, Wingfield. CRANFIELD.—Spelt *Cranfelle* (for *Cranfelde*), D.B.; *Crane feud*, T.N.; *Crangfelde*, *Crane felde*, R.C.; *Craunfeld*, E.T., F.A. Lit. 'crane-field.' In

the Aspley Charter, dated 969, printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517, there is a reference to the *Cranfeldinga dic*, or 'dike of the people of Cranfield'; and again, to the spot where three boundaries met, viz. 'Crancfeldinga and Merstuninga and Holacotan,' i.e. of the people of Cranfield and the people of Marston and of Holcote.

The spelling *Cranc* in this passage and the spelling *Crang* in R.C. are not necessarily wrong. The German *Kranich*, a crane, has a final guttural; so that there may very well have been an A.S. form *cranc* (for **cranoc*) with the sense of 'crane,' though the form in common use was *cran*. Compare the entries '*grus*, *gruis*, *cornoch*,' and '*grauis* [error for *grus* or *gruis* ?], *cornuc*,' in the Corpus Glossary, 995, 996.

FROXFIELD; marked in the Ordnance Map at the entrance of Woburn Park on the road from Eversholt. The prefix is the same as in *Froxwell*, cited in the I.p.m. In fact, we find *Froxa-felda*, dative, in a charter of 965-975, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 527. The nom. is *Froxa-feld*, lit. 'field of frogs'; from A.S. *froxa*, gen. plural of *frox*, a frog.

WINGFIELD; to the S.W. of Chalgrave.—Spelt *Winefelde*, R.B.; *Winefeld*, A.M.; so that *ng* has been substituted for *n*, and the true name is Winfield. For A.S. *Winan feld*, i.e. 'Wina's field.'

13. FOLD.

From the A.S. *falod*, *fald*, a sheep-pen, a fold for cattle.

STOTFOLD.—Spelt *Stotfalt*, D.B.; *Stotfold*, F.A.; *Stotefold*, E.T. Compare also *Stotfoldeslade*, R.C. It can hardly be a mistake for *stöd-fald*, an enclosure for a stud of horses (Bosworth-Toller). The former element is, rather, the equivalent of the Middle English *stot*, meaning (1) a horse, (2) a bullock; see Stratmann's Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary. The form *stotta* (though not in the A.S. Dict.) occurs in *stottan-wille*, i.e. 'stot-well'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 184; in a charter dated 957. We may explain the name as meaning 'stot-fold'; and understand *stot* to mean either a young horse or a bullock. Cf. Stottesdon, co. Salop.

14. FORD.

It occurs in Barford, Bedford, Girtford, Langford, Salford, Sheffield, Stanford, Tempsford.

BARFORD.—Spelt *Bereforde*, D.B., R.C., R.B., E.T.; *Bereford*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m. The A.S. form is *Beranford*, better *Bæran-ford*, as in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 301. The sense is 'Bæra's ford.'

BEDFORD.—Spelt *Bedeford*, D.B., H.R., T.N. The A.S. form is *Bedan-ford*, A.S. Chron. (Parker MS.), A.D. 918; but we also find the forms *Bedcan-ford*, in the same, A.D. 571; and *Biedcan-ford*, also under the latter date, in MSS. Cotton, Tib. A. vi. and Tib. B. i., and in the Laud MS.; see Thorpe's edition, p. 32. The dat. case *Bedan-forda* occurs in the Chronicle several times.

It is usual to cite the form *Bedican-ford*, which it is not easy to find. No such form is given in Plummer's edition of the A.S. Chronicle, nor by Earle. It occurs in Bosworth's Dict., with a reference to the year 571 in the Chronicle (Ingram's edition). But *Bedican-ford* does not occur there in the MSS. themselves; we find only the dat. *Bedan-forda* in one MS., and *Biedcan-forda* in three others, as said above.

Out of this dubious form, wholly misunderstood, and mispronounced with a long *i* instead of a short one, some ignorant person constructed an impossible etymology from the verb *be-dīcian*, to 'be-dike' or protect by a dike; so that we are gravely informed (as in Kelly's Directory) that Bedford means 'the protected ford.' Almost as absurd as this is the derivation quoted from Camden in Bosworth's A.S. Dictionary, viz. '*bedan*, i.e. *bedum*, lectis, *ford*, vadum; lectos et diversoria ad vadum sonans.' Here there are two obvious blunders, viz. the misspelling of the A.S. *beddum* as *bedum*; and next, the ridiculous statement that the word means *lectis vadum*, a ford with beds. It may confidently be said that fords were never thus provided, either in the river or beside it.

There is absolutely no mystery at all about it; *Bedan* is the regular genitive of *Beda*, so that the sense is 'Beda's ford.' Seeing that *Beda* (in the eighth century, *Bæda*) is the usual

Old English spelling of the famous author more commonly known as 'the venerable Bede,' the name ought to be more familiar to us than it usually seems to be. It does not follow that Bedford was named after that particular Beda, but rather after some one of the same name; for, according to the Chronicle, it was already in existence in 571, almost exactly a century before the 'venerable' Beda was born. Nevertheless, he has made the name honourable. It is tolerably clear that the fable about the 'be-diking' arose from misunderstanding the alternative form that is spelt *Bedca* in the best MS. and *Biedca* in others. To which I would add that there is a third form *Bedeca*, which appears in *Bedecan læ*, 'Bedeca's lea,' in a charter dated 973-4; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 632, l. 17. But the explanation is simple enough; all that is meant is that *Bedeca* (otherwise *Bedca* or *Biedca*) is a diminutive form of Beda, or a pet-name; just as Johnny is another form of John. In other words, the person referred to is the same as before.

This may be illustrated by a difficulty that occurs in the Early English poem by Layamon entitled the Brut. No one has explained how it is that, in the one MS., Layamon is called the son of Leovenath, and in the other, the son of Leuca. Yet it is simple enough. Leovenath represents the A.S. *Lēofnōth*, of which the pet-name was *Lēofa*; and an alternative pet-name could be formed by using the diminutive *Lēofeca*. The form Leuca, in the MS. of a later date, is contracted from, and equivalent to, *Lēofeca*; just as Stukeley (Hunts.) represents A.S. *Styfecanlæah*. And no more need be said, unless it be necessary to remind the reader that the *f* between two vowels represented the sound of *v*.

GIRTFORD, in Sandy.—I find no old spelling; but it probably means 'great ford.' *Gert* for *great* is as old as the fourteenth century; see the quotation dated 1387, in the Oxford New Eng. Dict., section 6c. The modern Deptford, near Greenwich, is spelt Depeford in Chaucer, and means 'deep ford'; with a like sense.

LANGFORD.—To the S. of Biggleswade. There is another

Langford across the Ouse, just below its junction with the Ivel; marked as *Ford* on the Ordnance Map, but Langford End is not far off. Spelt *Langeford*, D.B., F.A., T.N. The *e* marks the dative case; the A.S. form would be *æt thām langan forda*, i.e. 'at the long ford.'

SALFORD, on Crawley Brook.—The Ordnance Map marks Salford Ford. Spelt *Saleford*, D.B., E.T., H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A. There is another Salford in Oxon., and a third in Lancs. *Sale* represents the A.S. *salig*, otherwise *sealh*, a sally or willow-tree; not derived from the Lat. *salix*, but the native English name cognate with it. Thus the sense is 'willow-ford.'

SHEFFORD.—Spelt *Sepford* (with reference to Shefford in Beds.), H.R. *Sepford* is a Norman spelling of Shepford. The sense is 'sheep ford.' Compare *Shipmeadow*, Suffolk, and the numerous Shiptons.

STANFORD, to the S. of Southill.—To the E. of Stanford something is left of the old river, but the Ivel navigation canal has cut a straight course across its windings. In Pigot's map of 1831 the canal is absent. Spelt *Stanford*, D.B.; *Staunford*, F.A. For A.S. *Stān-ford*, i.e. 'stone ford.'

TEMPSFORD.—Near the junction of the Ouse and Ivel; but Tempsford is on the Ivel, above the junction. Spelt *Tamise-ford*, D.B.; *Temese-ford*, E.T.; *Temesford*, *Temseford*, F.A. In the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 921, we find *Tæmese-forda*, in the dative case, and *Tæmesan-ford* under the year 1010 (in the Laud MS. only). The mouth of the river Thames is called in the same *Tæmesemuth*, under the year 892, in the Laud MS. Only one conclusion seems possible, viz. that the river Ivel was also, at a very early date, called *Tæmese*, or 'the Thames.' Perhaps that was the Celtic name, afterwards changed by the English to the *Gifel* or *Ivel*. Hence Tempsford is really 'Thamesford.' Of course Thames is a silly pseudo-learned spelling of Tames or Tems, with a Norman *th* in place of an A.S. *t*. We do not write 'Thamworth on the Thame,' or 'Thenbury on the Theme'!

15. GRAVE.

Grave represents the A.S. *græf* or *graf*, dat. *græfe*, a trench. It occurs in Chalgrave, Leagrave, and Potsgrave, formerly Potsgrave.

CHALGRAVE; to the S. of Toddington.—Spelt *Celgrave*, D.B.; *Chalgrave*, H.R.; *Chaugraue*, T.N.; *Chalgraue*, E.T.; I.p.m. The spelling *Cel-* in D.B. answers to an English spelling *Chel-* or *Chal-*.

There is a Charter dated 926 concerning land at Chalgrave and Tebworth; printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 334. A note at p. 334 suggests that perhaps Chalgrave in Oxfordshire is meant, but that is quite out of the question; seeing that Chalgrave and Tebworth are not two miles apart. In this charter we find 'terram que nuncupatur *Cealhgræfan* et Teobbanwythe.' We have here the dat. case *græfan*, from a weak nominative *græfa* or *græfe*, with the same sense as the strong neuter *græf*, which has the dat. *græfe*. Such double forms are not uncommon. The actual form *Cealcgrafan* occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 304; with respect to a place in Hants.

Cealh can hardly be other than the A.S. *cealc*, chalk; with *h* for *c* before the *g*. Hence the probable sense is 'chalk-trench.'

LEAGRAVE; to the N.W. of Luton. I find no old spelling; but it is on the river Lea. Hence the sense is 'trench beside the Lea.' The spelling *Ligrave* in *Magna Britannia* (1720) is explained under LUTON (p. 52).

POTSGROVE, or POTTESGROVE.—The spelling with *grove* is modern; it is Potsgrave in Pigot's map (1831). Spelt *Potesgraua* (in the ablative case), D.B.; *Potesgrave*, E.T., H.R., F.A. Also *Portesgrave*, F.A., T.N. I think *Portes* is a mistake, because the *r* appears neither in the modern form nor in that in Domesday Book. *Potes* is the gen. of *Pot*; and that *Pot* was a real name seems to be sufficiently proved by the occurrence in two A.S. charters of the place-name *Potting-tun*, i.e. 'the town of the sons of Pot.' Hence the probable sense is 'Pot's trench.' Compare POTTON (p. 54).

16. HALE.

The suffix *-hale* has long been obsolete as an independent word. It means 'a nook, corner, secret place,' hence 'a retreat'; and is fully explained in the New English Dictionary. It represents *heale*, *hale*, dative of A.S. *healh*, O. Mercian *halch*. The nominative itself appears in modern English as *haugh*, in some place-names; see *Haugh* in the same Dictionary. Owing to its not being understood, it is usually turned into *hall* in modern English, in order to find a meaning for it. It occurs in Meppershall, Pertenhall, and Renhold.

MEPPERSHALL.—Spelt *Malpertesselle*, D.B.; *Meiperteshale*, R.C.; *Meperteshale*, R.B., F.A., H.R., E.T., Cat.; *Mapertishale*, Cat.; *Meparteshale*, Ex.R.; *Maperteshale*, Tower Rolls; *Meper-deshale*, I.p.m. The spelling in D.B. seems to be mistaken, as all other authorities are against it. The suffix is clearly *hale*, a nook; as in some other counties. The *-es* is the genitive suffix. The name of the first inhabitant appears in the variant forms: Meipert, Mapert, Mepert; Malpert, Meperd may be neglected. We have no older record of the name, so that all that can be said is that the sense is 'Meipert's nook'; where Meipert is a name of Norman origin, as the suffix *-pert* suggests. It well represents the Old High German Megipert (older form Magipert); for which see E. Förstemann's *Alt-deutsches Namenbuch*.

I may add that Mapert has no connection with the name of Mapperton in Dorsetshire. The latter presents no difficulty, as the A.S. form is *mapuldurtūn*; the sense being 'mapletree-town.'

PERTENHALL; or, according to Kelly, 'formerly Partenhale.'—Spelt *Pertenhall*, *Partenhale*, D.B.; *Pertenhale*, H.R., F.A., E.T., I.p.m. It lies to the N. of Keysoe.

We have a record of the same name (though not of the same place) in a charter dated 972, containing a grant made by King Eadgar to Pershore Abbey, co. Worcester. In the boundaries mentioned we find the following:—'Of than hamme on Pyrt-broc; andlang broces to Pyrtan-heale; of Peartan-heal to hagan geate.' I.e. 'from the enclosure to Pyrt-brook; along

the brook to *Pyrthan-healh* (nom.); from *Peartan-healh* to *haw-gate*.' See Birch, *Cart. Saxon*. iii. 587. The true form of the dat. case is *Peartan-heale*; the sense is 'Pearta's nook.' We need not be concerned with the form *Pyrta*, because *y* is a secondary vowel, *ea* (Mercian *a*) being more original. Moreover, the form of the name is completely established by the occurrence in Kemble's Index of a place-name, *Peartinga-wyrth*, i.e. 'the property (or homestead) of the sons of Pearta.'

RENHOLD; to the N.E. of Bedford.—In this instance *hale* was turned into *hall*, and afterwards into *hold*; and further, *Ren-* has been substituted for *Ron-*. Spelt *Ronhale*, F.A.; E.T.; *Ronhal*, T.N.; *Ronale*, H.R.; *Ronhall*, I.p.m. (1286). In a charter of Cnut, A.D. 1018, one of the witnesses is named *Ranig*; see Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 3. This furnishes a possible clue. An allied weak form *Raniga* (not found) would give a genitive *Ranigan*; and we might then explain the place-name as meaning 'Raniga's nook.' As the *g* in this form was pronounced as a *y*, and easily dropped, whilst at the same time *an* was often sounded as *on*, we find that Florence of Worcester turns the name *Ranig* into *Roni* (A.S. Chron., ed. Plummer, ii. 219); and such a form as *Ronian-heale* would easily pass into *Ronhale*. And on the other hand, *Ranhale* might be turned into *Renhale*. This is the best guess which I am able to make. It would be difficult to form the place-name from *Ranig* or *Roni* directly, because the genitive case would then be *Raniges* or *Ronies*, and there is no trace of an *s*. I may add that *Ranig* is also found as *Hranig*, which is a more original form.

17. HAM.

This suffix is extremely common. In fact, there are *two* words that produce it. Of these the more usual is the A.S. *hām*, a home, which becomes *ham* (with short *a*) in an unaccented (final) syllable; and the other is the A.S. *hamm*, an enclosure. The former is usually employed in 'possessive' names; the latter in 'descriptive' ones. They are here taken together, as they cannot always be distinguished. However, Clapham, Higham, and Studham seem to be the only examples of the

latter class. Examples occur in Biddenham, Blunham, Bromham (or Brumham), Clapham, Felmersham, Higham, Pavenham, and Studham.

BIDDENHAM.—Spelt *Bidenham*, D.B., E.T.; *Bideham*, H.R.; *Bydenham*, Ex. Rolls; *Bedenham*, I.p.m.; *Bedynham*, F.A. In a charter relating to Chieveley, Berks., dated 951, we find a mention of 'Byden-hæma gemæres,' i.e. the boundary of the men of Byden-hām. The sense of *hæma*, a genitive plural form, is explained in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 116. The *æ* was long, and derived from long *a*; so that the reference is to *hām*, a home. Byden should rather be *Bȳdan*, gen. of *Bȳda* (with long *y*), a known name. Thus the sense of Biddenham is 'Bȳda's home.' The vowel in the first syllable has been shortened. It may be added that the original vowel of the name, viz. long *y*, accounts for the spelling *Bedenham*, as long *y* was sometimes expressed by long *e* in later English.

BLUNHAM.—Spelt *Bluneham*, D.B., Cl.R., H.R., vol. ii.; *Blounham*, F.A. Thus the *u* was long, *ou* denoting *ū*; and *-e* is for *-an*, from nom. *-a*. The sense is 'Blūna's home.' Of the name Blūna there is no other record.

BROMHAM, or BRUMHAM (Kelly).—Spelt *Bruneham*, D.B.; and (wrongly) *Brimeham*, D.B. In the latter case *un* was misread as *im*. Also *Brumham*, R.C. The sense is 'Brūna's home.' Brūna is a known name, and is a weak form allied to the strong form *Brūn*, which is the modern English Brown. *Brūnham* became *Brunham*, with short *u*; and afterwards *Brumham*, by confusion with names like Bromley and Brompton.

CLAPHAM; near Bedford.—Spelt *Clopeham*, D.B.; *Clopham*, H.R., F.A., T.N.; *Cloppham*, R.C. In a genuine charter of the time of Ælfred, Clapham in Surrey appears as Cloppa-ham; see Sweet, Early English Texts, p. 451. *Cloppa* must be a genitive plural of a form *clop*, which occurs in *clop-æcer* (clop-acre), and *clop-hyrst* (clop-hurst) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 589, 590. The name is probably descriptive, and *ham* may mean 'enclosure.' The meaning of *clop* is not certainly known; but

Kalkar's Middle Danish Dictionary has *klop* in the sense of 'stub' or 'stump,' which would suit all three forms. The modern E. *clump* may be related. If we explain *cloppa* from this source, it will be best to give to *ham* the sense of 'enclosure.' It would then mean 'enclosure of stubby ground,' lit. 'of stubs.'

FELMERSHAM.—Spelt *Falmeresham*, *Flammeresham*, D.B.; *Felmeresham*, T.N.; *Felmersham*, I.p.m.; *Fulmeresham*, E.T. In a charter dated 963, we find a notice of *Fiolo-meres ford*; and in another, dated 709, we find *Feala-mæres broc* (brook); see Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 182, iii. 344. The correct spelling is *Feolu-mær* (with long *œ*), a man's name. The sense is 'Feolumær's home.'

HIGHAM; also called Higham Gobion.—Spelt *Echam*, D.B.; *Hecham*, *Hegham*, *Heyham*, F.A.; *Higham*, E.C.; *Heyham* *Gobioun*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1301); *Heyham*, E.T. Here *hec*, *ec*, *heg*, *hey*, are all variant spellings of the A.S. *hēah*, Mid. Eng. *hēh*, mod. Eng. *high*. The sense is 'high enclosure.' The Ordnance Map marks an elevation of 247 feet above the sea. Gobion or Gubiun was the name of a family who had land there. 'Ricardus Gubyun tenet in villa de Hecham,' etc.; F.A. i. 7 (1284-6). Named Ricardus Gobion in 1289; A.M.

PAVENHAM.—Spelt *Pabeneham*, D.B.; *Pabenham*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m.; *Pabeham*, R.B., T.N. For A.S. *Paban hām*, 'Paba's home.' The name of Paba is not otherwise known; but it is closely related to the *Peb-* in *Pebworth*, Gloucestershire, and in *Pebmarsh*, Essex.

STUDHAM; on the borders of Herts., due S. of Dunstable.—Already explained in my Place-names of Herts. Spelt *Estodham*, D.B.; *Stodham*, E.T., H.R. A.S. *Stōdham*; Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 374. The *o* was long, giving later *oo*, which has been shortened before *d*, like the *oo* in *blood*. And the *a* was short, *ham* here meaning 'enclosure.' The A.S. *stōd* is now spelt *stud*. The sense is 'stud-enclosure,' or an enclosure for a stud of horses. So also A.S. *stōdfald* meant 'a stud-fold,' a paddock for a stud of horses. Compare STODDEN (p. 11).

18. HANGER.

A *hanger* is a well known dialect word, especially in Dorsets., Hants., Sussex, and Kent. It means a hanging wood on the side or slope of a hill; from the verb *to hang*. The A.S. form is *hangra*. It occurs in Moggerhanger and Polehanger.

MOGGERHANGER, or MORHANGER (Kelly); near Blunham.—Here Morhanger is a mere contraction. Spelt *Mogerhanger*, F.A.; I.p.m.; *Mogarhangre*, Cl. Rolls. In Magna Britannia, it is spelt *Maugerhanger*. The name is probably later than the Conquest; and the former part of the name may be Norman, viz. from the family name of *Mauger* or *Maugar*; see examples in F.A. Bardsley, in his English Surnames, notes that *Mauger* occurs in the Hundred Rolls, with an earlier spelling *Mulger*. It is distinct from A.S. *Moga*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 18.

POLEHANGER.—Polehanger Farm lies to the S. of Shefford. The prefix is probably the same as in Polstead, in Suffolk; of which the A.S. form occurs as *Polstyde*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 602. From the A.S. *pōl*, a pool; dat. *pōle*. The A.S. *pōl* was pronounced like the modern E. *pole*, a pronunciation which lasted for many centuries. The word *pool* is now ascertained to be Germanic, and the Welsh *pull* to be merely borrowed from it.

19. HATCH.

HATCH occurs alone; viz. in Hatch, in Northill (Kelly). Spelt *Hatche*, I.p.m.; *Hache*, *Hacche*, F.A. From A.S. *hæcce*, dat. of *hæc*, fem., a hatch, half-door; in E. dialects, any small gate or wicket.

20. HEAD.

Head occurs in MANSHEAD, the name of a hundred. Spelt *Manesheve* in D.B., an error for *Manesheved*, or rather *Mannesheved*, as in H.R. The sense is certainly 'man's head,' whatever circumstance may have given rise to it. In my Place-names of Hunts., I have shown that Farcet means 'bull's head'; and we have two Swinesheads, one being in Lincs.

SWINESHEAD.—Formerly in Hunts. Spelt *Swineshefet*, D.B.; *Swinesheved*, R.C.; from the A.S. *swīnes hēafod*, lit. 'swine's head.' Perhaps a fanciful name of some natural object.

21. HEATH.

HEATH occurs alone; it lies to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. No explanation is needed.

22. HILL.

Hill occurs in Ampthill, Clophill, Odell, Puddlehill, Pullox-hill, Wroxhill. For Northill and Southill see below, under the heading ILL (p. 33).

AMPTHILL.—Spelt *Ametelle*, D.B.; *Amethulle*, E.T.; *Ametulle*, F.A.; *Amethull*, I.p.m.; *Amithulle*, A.M.; *Amthull*, H.R.; *Aunthull*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1264). The A.S. *hyll*, both masc. and fem., meaning a hill, is frequently *hulle* in Middle English, and occasionally *helle*; so that the above spellings are regular. The prefix is the A.S. *æmete*, an emmet or ant; so that the sense is 'ant-hill'; apparently a somewhat jocular appellation. As for the spelling *ampt*, it occurs in the earlier version of Wyclif's Bible, Prov. xxx. 25; the later version has *amt*.

CLOPHILL.—Spelt *Clopelle*, D.B.; *Clophulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Clophull*, T.N., I.p.m. The corresponding A.S. form is *clophyll*; see the note upon *clop* under CLAPHAM; at p. 25. The sense is uncertain; perhaps it means 'stubby-hill.'

ODELL.—Spelt *Wadehelle*, *Wadelle*, D.B.; *Wadhulle*, *Wodhulle*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Wodhull*, I.p.m.; *Wahulle*, F.A., R.B. Kelly remarks that Odell Castle is on an eminence; also that Odell is corrupted from Woodhill. The latter statement is doubly impossible; for firstly, place-names are not 'corrupted,' but gradually altered in accordance with phonetic laws; and secondly, no one ever called a wood an *ode*. Those who do not sound the *w* call it 'ood.

The spellings *Wad-*, *Wod-*, show that the first element is the A.S. *wād*, meaning 'woad'; and the sense is 'woad-hill.' The Normans, who disliked the sound of *w* before *o* and *u*, and

sadly neglected the initial *h*, originated a form which regularly became 'oad'ill, from which Odell is hardly distinguishable. There is no difficulty.

PUDDLEHILL, or CHALK HILL; "in Houghton Regis; on the rise of a hill, surrounded by chalk hills"; Kelly. The prefix is the ordinary E. *puddle*.

PULLOXHILL.—Spelt *Polochessele*, D.B.; *Pullokeshulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Pullokeshull*, T.N.; *Pullukeshulle*, *Pollokeshille*, A.M. The modern spelling is ingenious, as it suggests the idea of a hill where an ox has to pull; but the old spellings show that *Pullok*es is the genitive of *Pullok*, a man's name.

The spelling in D.B. can be explained. The former *o* is due to the fact that Norman scribes usually wrote *o* to denote the sound of *u* in *full* or in *pull*. They also used *ches* to denote the sound of *kes*. And lastly, the scribe has substituted *ele* for *elle* or *helle*, the Norman form of Mid. E. *hulle*, a hill; and he has needlessly doubled the *s*. *Pullok* is not otherwise known; but it is of a like character with the A.S. personal name *Puttoc*; and also with the modern E. *Pollock*. It is probably a diminutive, like *Bullock*.

WROXHILL; in the parish of Marston Morteyne (Kelly).—Spelt *Wroxhulle*, F.A., A.M. In F.A. we find the name of John de *Wrockeshale*, answering to *Wroccesheal* in Kemble's Index. *Wrocces* is the gen. of the personal name *Wroc*; and the sense is 'Wroc's hill.'

The form *Wroccesheal*, i.e. 'Wroc's nook,' explains Wroxall in Warw. and in the Isle of Wight. There is a Wroxham in Norfolk, and a Wroxton in Oxfordshire; all from *Wroc*.

23. HOE.

The suffix *hoe* or *ho* is rather common. It represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill, lit. 'heel'; and is not to be confused with the Northern *how*, which is of Scandinavian origin, from Icel. *haugr*, a height.

It occurs in Bletsoe, Cainhoe, Keysoe, Millow, Putnoe, Salpho, Segenhoe, Sharpenhoe, Silsoe, Staploe, and Toternhoe. Also, in Budna (p. 30).

BLETSOE, to the N. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Blacheshou*, *Blecheshou*, D.B.; *Blechesho*, T.N., E.T., F.A.; *Bletesho*, I.p.m., vol. ii. Also *Bletnesho*, F.A. (A.D. 1316), Cat., I.p.m. In D.B. *ch* before *e* means *k*, so that, in the eleventh century, the form was *Blakesho* or *Blekesho*. The equivalent A.S. spelling is probably *Blæces-hōh*, where *Blæces* is the gen. of *Blæc*. But whether the *æ* was long or short, it is hard to say; the forms corresponding to the modern E. *black* and *bleak* involve much difficulty, as is pointed out very clearly in the New English Dictionary. Still the *e* in Bletsoe favours the derivation from *blæc*, 'bleak' or 'pale.' In later times the name became *Blekso*, and then *Bletso* or *Bletsoe*, by the substitution of *t* for *k*. The occasional form *Bletnesho* I do not understand. The original sense appears to have been 'Blæc's hill-spur'; where *Blæc* is a name originally meaning 'pale one.'

BUDNA, in Northill.—Short for *Budenho*; spelt *Bodenho*, F.A. For A.S. *Budan-hōh*, i.e. 'Buda's hill-spur' or slope. Magna Britannia has *Budnahoe*, which really means *Budenho-ho*, and repeats the suffix. Buda is a known name.

CAINHOE.—The manor of Cainhoe was near Clophill, in the hundred of Flitt; D.B. It appears to be the modern Cain Hill, in Wrest Park; there is a Cainhoe Farm just outside the park, on the north. Spelt *Cainou*, *Chainehou*, D.B.; *Caynho*, F.A., H.R., I.p.m. This, in A.S. spelling, might be represented by *Cæganhōh*, i.e., 'Cæga's hill-spur.' *Cæga* is not otherwise known, but would be the weak form corresponding to the strong form *Cæg*, which is preserved in Keysoe (below).

KEYSOE.—Spelt *Caissot*, *Chaisot*, D.B., with a needless final *t*. Better *Kaysho*, T.N., I.p.m.; *Caysho*, E.T., F.A. Found in A.S. in the form *Caegesho*, in a charter dated 793, but not an original one. It there refers to Cassiobury or Cashiobury in Herts., but this makes no real difference; for Cashiobury is merely another form of Keysoe-bury. A better spelling would be *Cæges-hōh*. *Cæg* is the A.S. form of the modern E. *key*. The sense is 'Key's hill-spur'; taking Key as being a personal name.

MILLOW willow and Millowbury Farm lie to the S. of

Dunton. Spelt *Melehough*, D.B.; *Melhoe*, C.R.; *Mulnhoe*, F.A. Also spelt *Milnhoe* in modern times, as in Airy's Bedfordshire Domesday. All from A.S. *mylen-hōh*, meaning 'mill-hillspur,' or hill-slope with a mill on it.

PUTNOE.—Near Goldington. Putnoe Farm and Putnoe Wood lie between Bedford and Ravensden. Spelt *Putenehough*, D.B.; *Putenho*, T.N.; *Poutenhough*, *Puttenho*, F.A. Also *Puttanhoe* in a late A.S. will; in Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 589. All from A.S. *Puttan hōh*; the sense being 'Putta's hill-spur.' Putta is a known name.

SALPHO.—Airy (p. 49) notes that "at the S.W. extremity of the parish of Ravensden is a hamlet called Salpho, forming part of the manor of Salphobury"; also that "the name of the manor, spelt in books and documents Salpho, has become curiously corrupted in the mouths of the country-people, who call the hamlet Saft End." In the Ordnance map it is Salph End. Spelt *Salchough*, D.B.; *Salehoe*, *Salvhoe*, F.A. For A.S. *sealh-hōh*, Old Mercian *salh-hōh*; where A.S. *sealh* is the native E. word cognate with Lat. *salix*, with the same sense of 'willow.' The form in Chaucer is *salwe*, and in the sixteenth century we find *salowe*. *Salow-hoe* became *Salvo*, *Salfo*, and was then spelt *Salpho*, with *ph* for *f*. *Safe* is from *Salf*, by dropping *l*; and *Saft* from *Safe*, by adding *t*. The sense is 'hill-spur near willows.' The Eng. Dialect Dict. notices the north-country forms *saugh*, *saf*, *saff*, *sauf*, *sauve*; all meaning *sallow* or *willow*.

SEGENHOE, near Ridgmount.—Segenhoe Manor is marked on the Ordnance map. Spelt *Segenehough*, D.B.; *Segenhoe*, F.A., A.M.; *Seggehoe*, A.M.; *Sedgynhoe*, Cat. For A.S. *Secgan-hōh*, i.e. 'Secga's hill-spur.' The A.S. *secga* meant a speaker, one who says a thing, an informant, from *secgan*, to say. The Mid. Eng. *segge* was freely used in the simple sense of man, or person. But the A.S. *Secga* was also used as a personal name, as in the present case.

SHARPENHOE; due E. of Harlington.—The *hoe* or hill-slope attains the height of 524 feet above the sea. Spelt *Scharpenhoo*, F.A.; *Sharpenhoe*, Cat. For A.S. *Scearpan hōh*, i.e. 'Scearpa's

hill-spur.' Kemble's Index has *Scearpan-næs* and *Scearpen-hām*, both of which contain the same name. *Scearpa* is the weak form of *scearp*, adj., i.e. sharp; and Sharpe is still in use as a proper name. We may therefore equally well explain it as 'Sharpe's hill-spur.'

SILSOE; near Wrest Park.—Spelt *Sewilessou*, D.B.; also (apparently) *Suuulessou*, D.B.; *Sivelesho*, R.C.; *Siuelesho*, I.p.m.; *Sivelesho*, *Sevelesho*, *Sowenesho*, F.A.; *Shivelesho*, T.N. The form *Suuulessou* (in D.B.) is indistinct. Perhaps it should be *Siuuilessou*, and it is printed by Airy as *Siwilessou*. The forms, as is so frequently the case, have been much contracted; and, if we may trust to those in D.B., it is most likely that *Sewil* or *Siwil* (the latter giving the true vowel) is short for *Siwulf*, itself a later form of the A.S. *Sigewulf*, a very common name of which we have more than twenty instances. I would explain Silsoe as shortened from 'Sigewulf's hoe.'

STAPLOE, to the W. of St Neots.—Spelt *Stapleho* in Magna Britannia; *Stapelho*, R.C. The A.S. *stapol* means a post or pillar, such as must once have stood upon a neighbouring slope. The sense is 'pillar-hillspur.'

TOTTERNHO, or TOTERNHOE.—Spelt *Totenehou*, D.B.; *Toternho*, H.R., F.A.; *Toterho*, E.T. The *r* seems to have been needlessly introduced in the unaccented syllable. The D.B. form may be more correct, as it answers to the A.S. *Totan* in *Totancumb*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 557; compare *Toten-berg* (a late spelling) in the same, iii. 159. *Totan* is the gen. of *Tota*, a known name, so that it may mean 'Tota's hoe,' or 'Tota's hill-spur.' It is probable that *tōta* meant a spy, or look-out man; and that Toternhoe, like Tothill, was a look-out hill. The *hoe* rises to more than 500 feet above the sea-level. Perhaps *Totene* = A.S. *tōtena*, gen. pl., 'of the spies.'

24. HOLT.

Holt is an interesting word, which is now little used except in place-names, though it occurs in Tennyson and Bulwer Lytton; see the New Eng. Dictionary. It represents the A.S. *holt*, a small wood, a copse, a small plantation. It occurs in Eversholt.

EVERSHOLT; near Woburn Park.—Spelt *Eureshot*, D.B.; *Eversolt*, H.R.; *Everesholt*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m. The last form is the best spelt. For A.S. *Eofores holt*, i.e. 'Eofor's holt.' As already explained at p. 2, Eofor was a personal name, with the literal sense of 'boar.'

25. HURST.

Hurst represents the A.S. *hyrst*, a thicket or copse, a place overgrown with brushwood. It occurs in Bolnhurst and Gravenhurst.

BOLNHURST.—Spelt *Bolehestre*, *Bulehestre*, D.B.; *Bolehurst*, T.N., F.A., E.T.; *Bolnehurst*, *Bollehurst*, Cat.; *Bolnherst*, F.A. *Boln* represents the A.S. *Bulan*, gen. of *Bula*, or *Bolan*, gen. of *Bola*. *Bula*, *Bola* are probably variant forms; and perhaps related to Icel. *boli*, a bull. The E. *bull* itself seems to be of Norse origin. The sense is 'Bula's hurst' or 'Bola's hurst'; possibly equivalent to a modern E. 'Bull's hurst,' taking Bull as a personal name.

GRAVENHURST.—Misspelt *Crauenhest*, D.B.; but *Gravenhurst*, R.B., R.C.; *Gravenhirst*, R.C.; *Gravenhurst*, I.p.m. Here *Graven* resembles A.S. *græfan*, known from its occurrence in the Laud MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the date 852. But this word should rather be *græfan* (with long *æ*), giving a later form *Greven*; see Crawford Charters, ed. Napier, pp. 61, 62. We may rather compare it with Graveney in Kent, spelt *Grafon-aea* in 811 (Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 456), lit. 'Grafon-stream.' *Grafon* suggests 'gravel,' which is of Celtic origin. Cf. Bret. *grouan*, gravel; O. French *grave*, gravel.

26. ILL.

This suffix occurs only in Northill and Southill, which, as the old forms prove, should rather be North Ill and South Ill; for they have no connexion with the word *hill*. *Ill* must have been the old name for the stream which, after leaving Southill Park, flows past Ickwell and Northill to join the Ivel at Girtford. And as the old spellings show, Ill is merely another form of Ivel itself. The Ill joins the Ivel before the combined

stream joins the Ouse. It is even more remarkable that there was yet another stream in Bedfordshire once named the Ivel, which gave its name to Yielden or Yelden; which can only mean Ivelden; see p. 12. And there is yet another Ivel in Somersets. which flows by Ilchester, formerly called Ivelchester; and another Ill or Ile, absurdly spelt Isle, which flows by Ilminster. The Isle and the Ivel likewise become one stream, near Langport.

NORTHILL.—Spelt *Nortgiue* (error for *Northgiuel*), *Nortgible*, *Nortgiuele*, D.B.; *Northgiuele*, E.T.; *Northyevele*, F.A.; *North-givell* (1236), I.p.m.; *Northgeuell* (1257), I.p.m.; *Nortgylle*, T.N. Observe that Ilchester is spelt *Yeuelchestre*, A.M.

None of these spellings will be understood unless it is remembered that the Norman scribes often used *g* to represent the A.S. *g*, which was pronounced like E. *y* before an *e* or an *i*. Thus the above spellings really represent *yivel*, *yevel*, and *yill*. Another point is that Middle English dropped the sound of initial *y* altogether before an *i*. Thus the A.S. *giccian*, Mid. E. *ycchen*, is the modern English *itch*; the A.S. *Gipeswic* is the modern *Ipswich*; and the A.S. *gif*, Mid. Eng. *yif*, is now spelt *if*. Similarly, the Early Eng. *Yivel* became the modern *Ivel*; and the Early Eng. *Yill* became the *Ill*. There can be no doubt as to the result. As Prof. Earle points out, the A.S. *Gifle* in Ælfred's Will does not mean Gidley (as Kemble guessed), but the Ivel Valley in Somersetshire. The Will only exists in a late copy, but the spelling of that name is correct. *Gifle* is a dative case, from a nom. *Gifel*, in which the *g* was a *y*, the *f* was a *v*, and the *i* was short. The sense is 'northern place upon the Ivel.'

SOUTHILL.—Spelt *Sudgiuele*, *Sudgible*, D.B.; *Southyevele*, F.A.; *South Giuele*, E.T.; *Sutgyle*, T.N. The spellings have been explained above. It means 'southern place upon the Ivel.'

27. ING.

Ing is well known as 'a tribal suffix,' the meaning of which will be explained presently (p. 35). It occurs in Knotting and

Marston Pillinge. Also in Harling-ton, Shilling-ton, formerly Harling-don, Shilling-don, explained under -DON; in Stepping-ley, explained under -LEY; in Billing-ton, Carding-ton, Goldington, Lidling-ton, Pudding-ton, Todding-ton, explained under -INGTON; and in Wrestling-worth, explained under -WORTH. But it also sometimes appears erroneously in modern forms, as in Caddin(g)ton (p. 13); Chellin(g)ton, Eggin(g)ton, Stevin(g)ton, Willin(g)ton, Wymin(g)ton (pp. 59, 60).

KNOTTING.—The A.S. *-ing* was a patronymic, meaning 'son of.' There is a remarkable example in the old Northumbrian version of the third chapter of St Luke, where 'the son of Heli' is rendered by Heling; and the like. Seth is called Adaming, i.e., 'son of Adam.' These names in *-ing* were declined as strong substantives, with the nom. plural *-ingas* and the gen. pl. *-inga*. Thus the son of Golda would be called Golding, and the family or tribe descended from Golda would be called the Goldingas, i.e. the Goldings. There is a large number of names of this description.

Knotting lies to the N. of Sharnbrook. The spellings are: *Chenotinga*, D.B.; *Cnottinge*, T.N.; *Cnottynge*, F.A.; *Cnottyng*, E.T. The *Che* in D.B. means no more than *K* (or *C*) in this instance. It signifies that the Norman had much ado to pronounce *K* before an *n*, and inserted a short vowel-sound to assist him in the process. In the modern E. *knot* the *k* is simply neglected; but it was sounded at least as late as 1400.

But the final *-a* in the D.B. form is correct. It represents *Cnotinga*, gen. pl. of *Cnotingas*, i.e. the Cnotings or 'sons of Cnot.' The gen. pl. refers to their possession of the holding; it was a place 'belonging to the sons of Cnot.'

The name of Cnot appears again in the place-name Cnottinga-hamm or Cnotinga-hamm; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 56. This corresponds to a Knottingham near Barkham, in Berks.; which no longer exists. There is a Knotting-ley in Yorkshire.

MARSTON PILLINGE; near Millbrook station; not far from Marston Morteyne.—It means the Marston where once the Pillings resided; just as the other Marston was named from the Morteynes. Pilling is still a somewhat common name, and

may be found in the Clergy List. It means 'a son of Pil,' or Pill. There is a Pils-ley in Derbyshire, and there are three Piltons.

Some of the Pillings occupied WOOTTON PILLINGE, about a mile to the N.E. of Marston Pillinge.

The name Marston is explained under -TON (p. 54); it is merely 'marsh-town.'

WESTON ING.—This is the most convenient place for discussing the apparent suffix in Westoning, more correctly written Weston Ing. It lies to the N. of Harlington, and is written as Westoning in Bacon's map and in the Ordnance map. But it appears as *Weston* in E.T. and H.R.; and as *Weston Ing* in the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. It means 'west town,' once occupied by a tenant named William Ing. In Feudal Aids, i. 21 (1316), it is called Weston Tregoz (probably from a former tenant), but it is noted that there was a 'villa' there, tenanted by Willelmus Inge. In the same, i. 7 (1284), we are told that Willelmus la Souche and Willelmus Inge were tenants in Toternhoe.

It may be added that the provincial E. *ing*, a meadow, is not of English origin, but Norse. There is no example of its use in Beds., unless William Ing took his name from it.

28. LAKE.

FENLAKE; in Eastcotts.—Not far from Bedford. Spelt *Fenlake*, Cl. R., vol. ii. *Lake* has not its usual meaning here, nor is it connected with Lat. *lacus*. It is a native English word meaning a small stream of running water. The stream is marked on the Ordnance map, and flows into the Ouse. See *Lake*, sb. (3) in the New Eng. Dict., and *Lake* (2), a stream, in the Eng. Dial. Dict. The prefix is the A.S. *fenn*, a fen; and the sense is 'fen-stream.'

29. LEY.

Ley is the usual spelling in place-names of the word which we usually spell *lea*; from A.S. *lēah*, 'a tract of open ground, either meadow, pasture, or arable land'; New E. Dict. The

form *ley* is really due to the very frequent use of the dative case, A.S. *leage*, *lēge*, in which *g* had the sound of *y*.

It occurs in Aspley, Crawley, Gladly, Hatley, Oakley, Prestley, Riseley, Steppingley, Stopsley, Streatley, Thurleigh. But not in Willey, though it will be convenient to consider this with the rest.

ASPLEY GUISE.—Spelt *Aspeleia* (ablative), D.B.; *Aspele*, R.C., F.A., E.T.; *Aspeley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Æsplēa*, in the Aspley Charter dated 969, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517. The A.S. *æsp* (also *æps*) means an aspen tree. The sense is 'aspen-lea.'

GUISE is a family name. In Feudal Aids, i. 1, we read: 'Anselmus de Gyse tenet Aspele.'

CRAWLEY; as in Husborne Crawley.—Husborne has been explained under BOURNE (p.5). Spelt *Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craweleye*, *Craulai*, R.C.; *Crauley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Crāwanlēa*, with reference to Crawley in Hants. From A.S. *crāwan*, gen. of *crāwe*, fem. a crow, also a known female name. The sense is 'Crow's lea'; and the genitive case suggests that the Crow was a woman.

HATLEY, or COCKAYNE HATLEY; due E. of Potton.—Spelt *Hatelai*, D.B.; *Hattelega*, R.B.; *Hattele*, E.T., F.A. We find 'æt Hættanlēa and æt Pottune,' in the will of Ælfhelm of Wrattling, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. Hættan is the gen. of Hætta, and the sense is 'Hætta's lea.'

COCKAYNE is a family name. The church contains four sixteenth-century brasses to the Bryan and Cockayne families. 'Joh. Cockayn tenet di.f.m. in Hattele'; F.A. i. 37 (1428).

NARES GLADLY.—The name of an old manor. Airy says of *Gledelai* in D.B.:—"This manor, situate in the modern parish of Heath-and-Reach, taken from that of Leighton Buzzard, may still be recognised in the names of Nares Gladly; and though only marked by a small farmhouse, remains a manor of itself, distinct from that of Leighton. The modern prefix is probably the name of some former proprietor."

Spelt *Gledelai*, D.B.; *Gledele*, A.M. As *gled* is an earlier variant of Mid. Eng. *glad*, A.S. *glæd* (Mod. E. *glad*), the modern name is a fair guide. The A.S. *glæd* meant bright or cheerful

as well as glad. The sense may very well have been 'bright lea.' In the *Flower and the Leaf*, a poem written by a lady in the fifteenth century, we find it used as an epithet of leaves: 'a glad light grene.' Compare the name Fairleigh.

OAKLEY.—There are six or seven places so called. The sense is 'oak-lea,' which is quite consistent with the old spellings. Spelt *Achelei*, *Achelara*, D.B.; *Acelea*, *Acleia*, *Acle*, *Occl*, R.C.; *Ocleie*, A.M.; *Acle*, *Ocle*, *Okele*, F.A.; *Ocle*, T.N.; *Acle*, R.B. A.S. *Aclēa*, *Aclēah*; with long *a*, from *āc*, oak; see Kemble's Index.

PRESTLEY; a manor in Flitwick.—The Ordnance map has Priestley Farm, to the N.W. of Westoning. Spelt *Prestelai*, D.B.; *Prestele*, F.A.; *feodum de Presteleia*, R.B. It corresponds to A.S. *Prēostalēage*, dative, lit. 'lea of the priests' or 'priests' lea'; Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 201. The gen. pl. *prēosta* accounts for the final *e* in *Preste*, in the old spellings.

RISELEY; to the South of Melchbourne.—Spelt *Riselai*, D.B.; *Risele*, R.B.; *Rysele*, E.T.; *Riseleg*, *Risleg*, T.N.; *Rysle*, F.A. I take the name to be descriptive, meaning 'brushwood lea'; from A.S. *hrīs*, a twig, branch, prov. E. *rise*, brushwood, undergrowth.

STEPPINGLEY; to the N.W. of Flitwick Wood.—Formerly *Stepingley*, as in Pigot's Atlas (1831). Spelt *Stepigelai* (for *Stepingelai*), D.B.; *Stepyngle*, F.A.; *Stepingele*, *Steppinggele*, A.M. These represent A.S. *Stēapinga lēah*, i.e. 'lea of the Steapings or Steepings'; where *Stēapinga* is the gen. pl. of *Stēaping*, a son of *Stēapa*. *Stēapa* is a known name, allied to A.S. *stēap*, steep, high, lofty. *Stēapan-lēah*, i.e. 'Steapa's lea,' also occurs; see Kemble's Index.

STOPSLEY; N. of Luton.—Spelt *Stopesle*, F.A., lit. 'Stopp's lea.' The name *Stopp* occurs in *Stoppingas*, i.e. 'sons of Stopp'; in Kemble's Index.

STREATLEY; to the E.N.E. of Sundon.—Spelt *Stradlei*, D.B.; *Stratle*, F.A.; *Strateleye*, E.T. A.S. *Strætlēa*; Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 589, with reference to this very place. The sense is 'Street-lea'; with reference to a very old high-road. Streatley

lies close to the high-road from Luton to Bedford, and the four miles of it from Luton to Streatley are so nearly straight that it may well have been on the line of an old Roman road. The Icenhild Way is not far off.

THURLEIGH; to the E. of Bletsoe.—Here *leigh* answers to the A.S. nom. *lēah*, a lea, just as *ley* does to the dat. *lēage*. I find a mention of Willelmus de *Thorlege*; Cl. R. As there is here no sign of the gen. case, the former element is the A.S. *Thūr*, Thor, familiar to us in the gen. case in the word Thurs-day. The sense is 'Thur-lea,' a true compound. This probably means that the lea was once dedicated, in heathen times, to the worship of Thūr or Thōr, the god of thunder. Thūr is the A.S. name, and Thōr the Norse name of this once renowned divinity.

WILLEY, the name of a hundred.—As this has the appearance of a compound ending in *-ley*, it will be considered here. But it is really a simple word, once spelt with but one *l*. The doubling of the *l* means that the *i* was short, as in *will*. Spelt *Wilge*, or (in Latinised spelling) *Wilga*, D.B.; *Wylye*, H.R., F.A.; *Wile*, R.B. The hundred was no doubt named from a lost hamlet. The forms answer to the A.S. *welige*, dat. of *welig*, a willow; and the place-name originally meant 'at the willow.' The *i* appears in the Mid. Eng. *wilwe*, and in the modern *willow*; also in the A.S. adj. *wiliht*, abounding in willows. So also Willian (Herts.) means 'the willows,' nom. pl.; and Welwyn (Herts.) means 'at the willows,' dat. pl.

30. Low.

As in Henlow.

The A.S. *hlāw*, mod. E. *low*, means a burial-mound. Some contend that some at least of the *lows* are older than Anglo-Saxon times. That may well be the case, so that the prefix may have been used in two senses. If I am right, we may explain Triplow in Cambs. as 'Trippa's low'; but it is obviously impossible to know in which sense it was Trippa's. He may have been buried there, or he may have occupied land in the

immediate neighbourhood of a low that had been there for some hundreds of years.

HENLOW.—Henlow railway-station is between Hitchin and Shefford. Spelt *Haneslau*, *Haneslauue*, D.B.; *Hanelawe*, *Hene-lawe*, T.R.; *Henlawe*, E.T., T.N., I.p.m.; *Henlow*, F.A. The forms in D.B. (which do not really differ) are here the only important ones; they preserve an *s* which is dropped even in *Hanelawe*, which is the next oldest form. The sense must have been 'Hann's low.' The name Hann is preserved in Hannington, Hants., which means 'the town of the sons of Hann'; also in two other Hanningtons, in Northamptonshire and Wilts. respectively, as well as in three Hanningfields, all in Essex. Also in the A.S. *Hanninge* (for *Hanninga*), i.e. 'place of the Hannings'; in *Hann-īge*, now Hanney or 'Hann-island' in Berks.; and perhaps in Hansfleet (for Hannesfleet); see Kemble's Index. In other places, Han- may have a different sense; thus Hanbury (Worc.) means 'at the high borough,' A.S. *hēanbyrig*, and Hanwell (Midd.) means 'Hana's well.' The D.B. form omits the double *n*, just as it omits the double *n* in the old form of Manshead (p. 27).

31. MEAD.

BUSHMEAD; in Eaton Socon (Kelly); but much nearer to Colmworth.—From *bush* and *mead*. The old spellings are *Bysmede*, A.M.; *Bissemede*, F.A.; which are remarkable not only for the use of *s* or *ss* to denote the sound of *sh* (not uncommon with Norman scribes), but also for the use of *i* or *y* for the modern *u*. Bushey (Herts.) also appears in H.R. as *Bissey*; and the A.S. for 'bush' must have been *bysc*.

In Mr Duignan's Place-names of Worcestershire, he hesitates to derive Bushley from *bush ley* (or *lea*) because the old spellings are *Biselega* (D.B.), *Bisseley* (Subsidy Rolls), and *Bushley* (in later documents). He adds—"we have no authority for accepting the D.B. *Bise* or the later *Bisse* as forms of bush." But the examples of Bushmead and Bushey make it quite clear that we *have* such authority; which solves his difficulty.

32. MOUNT.

Mount or *Mont* is a suffix of French origin; from the Old French *mont*, a hill.

RIDGMOUNT, or RIDGMONT.—Mr Airy says:—"The name of this place, formerly spelt Rougemont—the red hill—is comparatively modern, being compounded of two Norman words, and therefore subsequent to the Conquest. At that period the whole place was comprised in the manor of Segenhoe."

I have not found the spelling Rougemont in early times. I suspect it to be a mere creation of some guessing antiquary, haunted, as usual, by the belief that all names are sure to be 'corruptions.'

It is spelt *Rugemond* in F.A.; and *Ridgmond* as late as in *Magna Britannia* (1720—31). In Pigot's *Atlas* (1831) it is *Ridgemont*. I have no means for deciding the question. I think the explanation given above to be very doubtful. The spelling *Rugemond* is indecisive; for *ruge* might be a less correct form of *rugge*, the usual Middle English form of the modern word *ridge*; and even *mond* might represent the A.S. *mund*, or the modern English *mound*. So that the native phrase 'ridge-mound' is far more likely than the alleged French form. The question awaits further early evidence. Surely the word *rouge* was uncommon in Early English; and it could only have given rise to some such form as *Rudgemont*, certainly not to a syllable containing an *i*.

33. POOL.

COPLE; to the E. of Cardington.—The old spellings are curious; viz. *Cochepol*, *Chochepol*, D.B.; *Coupol*, *Coupulle*, F.A.; *Coupul*, E.T.; *Coupulle* (error for *Coupulle*), Cat.; *Coupulk*, Cat. As *o* is often written for short *u* in D.B., the suffix is *pul* or *pulle*, answering to the A.S. *pul*, *pull*, nom., *pulle*, dative, meaning 'a pool.' The A.S. form exactly answering to the modern E. *pool* is *pōl*, with long *o*, to which *pull* appears to be related. English dialects also employ the form *pull*, with the same sense as *pool*. It will be observed that, in one instance,

the suffix is *pulk*, which represents the Mid. Eng. *polk*, prov. E. *pulk*, meaning 'a small pool,' as it is merely a diminutive form of *pull*, a pool. This variation is a fortunate one, as it puts the sense of *pul* or *pulle* beyond all doubt. The prefix presents some difficulty; it was evidently changed from the earliest form into something different. The later form *Cou-* is the usual later spelling of the A.S. *Cū*, a cow; so that the sense, in the thirteenth century, seems to have been 'cow-pool.' But as the vowel *u* in the form *Cow-pull* was short, it was easily altered to *Cowple*, and (the meaning being lost) to *Cople*.

But the earliest form was different. Both the spellings in D.B. refer to the same sound, which would better be expressed by the spelling *Coke-pull* or *Cuke-pull*. Of these it is necessary to select the latter, in which *Cuke-* became *Cuk-*, and then *Cū-*, by the loss of *k* before *p*. (The form *Coke-* would have given *Cok-*, and M.E. *Cō-*.) *Cuke* represents *Cucan*, the genitive of *Cuca*, which appears in *Cucan-healas* and *Cucan-dene*; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 113, 140. *Cuca* is the weak form of *cuc*, a variant of *cwic*, lit. 'lively.' The sense is 'Cuca's pool.'

34. SAND.

CHICKSANDS PRIORY; to the W. of Shefford.—Formerly Chicksand. Spelt *Chicesane*, D.B.; *Chikesand*, R.B., T.R.; *Chikesaund*, F.A., H.R.; *Chikesond*, E.T., T.N.; *Chiksond*, I.p.m. *Sond* is a common old variant of *sand*; the spelling *sane* in D.B. is erroneous. The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case, the form *Chikes* answers to an A.S. form *Cicces*, gen. of *Cic* or *Gicc*, a name which is not otherwise known; the sense being 'Cicc's sand.' This form has nothing in common with the Mid. Eng. *chike*, shortened form of *chicken*, a chicken; for this *chike* was unknown till after 1300.

35. SNADE.

Snade represents the A.S. *snād* (with long *æ*), a slice, morsel, bit, portion, formed (with mutation of long *a* to long *æ*) from *snād*, the second grade of the root-verb *snīthan*, to cut. It meant a separated piece, a strip of land.

WHIPSNADÉ; to the S. of Dunstable.—More correctly Wipsnade; the insertion of the *h* is late and unauthorised. Spelt *Wybesnade*, F.A., E.T.; *Wibesnade*, I.p.m.; *Whipsnade*, I.p.m., vol. ii. (later). The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case *Wibes* corresponds to an A.S. form *Wibes*, from a nom. *Wibi*; this form is not otherwise known, except as appearing again in Wibs-ey, near Bradford, Yorks. Otherwise, *Wibe* must represent Wibban, gen. of Wibba, which is a known name; according to Florence of Worcester, Wibba was the father of Penda, king of Mercia. It also occurs in the A.S. Wibban-dun, i.e. Wibba's down, perhaps Wimbledon in Surrey; and in the A.S. Wibbe-toft, in Warwickshire (Thorpe). The right sense is probably 'Wibi's portion'; or else 'Wibba's portion.' It hardly matters, as Wibi and Wibba are related 'strong' and 'weak' forms. The A.S. *Hwipstede*, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 596, is thought to be Whepstead in Suffolk. Certainly, the prefix in it seems to be different.

36. STAPLE.

Staple.—There are two words thus spelt in English. One of them denotes the chief commodity of a place; this is of French origin, and has nothing to do with place-names, as is usually but erroneously assumed. The other *staple*, now chiefly used of a hoop of iron, is the true English word, though greatly changed in sense. The A.S. *stapol* meant a post or pillar; also, something that supports or holds a thing firmly. It occurs in Stapleford in Cambs., that is 'a ford marked by a fixed pole or post'; and also in Dunstable.

DUNSTABLE.—Spelt *Donestaple*, F.A.; *Dunstaplia* (a Latinised form), A.M.; *Dunestaple*, E.T. Also *Dunestapel* in the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 1125. The Anglo-French *Dunestapel* and *Donestaple* are to be divided as *Dun-estapel*, *Don-estaple*; answering to an A.S. form *Dūn-stapel*, lit. 'down-staple,' i.e. 'hill-pillar.' Probably named from some conspicuous pillar on one of the neighbouring downs.

37. STEAD.

Hence the compound *home-stead*, a home station, a settlement, farm; A.S. *hām-sted*.

WILSHAMSTEAD, or WILSTEAD (Kelly); near Bedford.—Spelt *Winessamestede*, D.B.; *Wyleshamstede*, E.T.; *Wilshampsted*, F.A. The D.B. spelling solves the name. It is from A.S. *Wines-hāmstede*, where *Wines* is the gen. of *Wini*, later form *Wine*, a rather common name. Indeed, the A.S. *wine* simply means 'friend,' though also employed as a personal name. The name should rather have been *Winshamstead*; but *l* was substituted for *n* not long after the Conquest. The sense is 'Wine's homestead.' The A.S. *wine* was pronounced *winy*. It occurs again in Wins-low (Bucks.), Wins-hill (Derb.).

38. STOKE.

Stoke is closely related to *stock*, A.S. *stoc*, a stock, trunk of a tree, perhaps also sometimes the stump of a stone cross. It occurs in REDBOURNESTOKE, once a place-name, but now only surviving as the name of a hundred. Spelt *Radburnestoch*, *Radeburnesoca*, D.B.; *Radeburnestoke*, A.M.; *Redbournestoke*, F.A.; *Radburnestok*, H.R.; *Radeborne*, *Radeburne*, R.C.; *Redburne*, R.B.

I have shown, in my Place-names of Herts., that the names Radwell and Radnor may fairly be interpreted as meaning, respectively, 'red well' and 'red bank'; from the A.S. *rēad*, red. So here, I suppose the sense of Redbourne or Radbourne to be simply 'red bourne,' i.e. red stream. We find to *rēadan burnan*, to the red bourne, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 587. Then Redbournestoke will refer to 'a stump near the red bourn.' The comparative *redder* is spelt *raddere* in Political Songs, ed. Wright (Camden Society), p. 330.

39. STOW.

Stow means 'a place'; whence the verb *to bestow* or *stow away*, to put into its place. It occurs in Elstow.

ELSTOW.—Spelt *Elnestou*, D.B.; *Elnestow*, E.T.; *Elnestowe*,

T.N., I.p.m., F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Alnestowe*, H.R., and Close Rolls (1224); *Alnestow*, *Aunestow*, A.M.; *Elnystow*, F.A. Kelly remarks that it was 'formerly Helenstow,' of which there is no evidence. It is clearly a guess, in order to explain the spelling in D.B.; the alternative spellings not having been observed. Judith, Countess of Huntingdon, niece of William the Conqueror, founded a nunnery at Elstow in 1078, which, according to Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, p. 81), was "dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St Mary, and St *Helen*." This is the piece of evidence on which the fable was founded, that the D.B. *Elnes* meant 'Helen's.' But in D.B. itself, under *Elnestow*, the nuns are called the nuns of St Mary; and, under Wilshamstead, we are told that "the Countess Judith gave the manor in alms to the Church of S. Mary at Elstow"; see Airy's Digest. So that, at that date, the church was not called the church of St Helen, but of St Mary. Further, the form *Elena*, the A.S. form of Helen, or any French form of the same, would not have been cut down to *Eln* between 1078 and 1086, when the Domesday Survey was completed. Thirdly, it is impossible that any form of the gen. case of Helen could have appeared as *Alnes* or *Aunes*, or *Alne* or *Aune*, at any early date; and it may be noted that *Alnestow* is a common form of Elstow. I find, moreover, that there was another *Alnestowe*, the name of a hundred in Rutlandshire; see *Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio*, i. 241. This hundred-name is spelt *Alsto* in Pigot's Atlas, and *Alstoe* elsewhere.

It is clear to any one at all accustomed to these old spellings that, in the forms *Eln*-, *Aln*-, *Aun*-, we have to deal with a much abbreviated form; and the use of the equivalent prefixes *El*-, *Al*-, points to the usual abbreviation of *Æthel*-, or of *Ælf*-, both very common prefixes. The use of *A* or *E* indicates the A.S. *Æ*, which had the sound of *a* in *apple*, intermediate to the Latin and A.S. *a* and *e*. The *-n*- is a much reduced remnant of some usual suffix, the only three available being *-nōth*, *-hūn* and *-wine*. Practically, the only likely A.S. representatives of *Eln*-, *Aln*- are *Æthelnōth*, *Ælfnōth*, *Æthelhūn*, *Ælfhūn*, *Æthelwine*, and *Ælfwine*; all fairly common. But *Æthelwine* and *Ælfwine* do not part with the *w*; their shortened forms

are Alwin or Elwin. I think the choice lies between *Æthelnōth* and *Ælfnōth*; of which the latter is the easier, and occurs both as *Alnōth* and *Elnōth*. The abbreviation of *Ælfnōthes* to *Alnes* or *Elnes* is certainly possible; so that all points to the probability that Elstow originally meant 'Ælfnōth's stow.' It is not more remarkable than the proved reduction of 'Eadwulf's tree' to Elstree.

By way of further illustration of the difficulty of deciphering these contracted forms, I may state that Alston in Worc. means 'Ælfsige's town'; Alston in Staffordshire means 'Ælfweard's town'; Alstone in Glouc. means 'Ælfred's town'; and Alston in Somersets. means 'Ælfnōth's town.' See Duignan's Worc. Place-names, p. 3. The presence of the *-n-* helps us in the case that we are now discussing.

I had arrived at this probability as to the origin of Elstow when it occurred to me to consult the Domesday Book for Rutlandshire as to the old spelling of the *other* place-name which likewise appears as *Alnestowe*. On opening the record, the first name that meets the eye, twice over, is *Alfnodestov*, in large characters. This settles the question, and enables us to conclude, past all doubt, that the true old name of Elstow was 'Ælfnōthes stōw.'

40. THORPE.

The A.S. *thorp*, a village, appears sometimes as an independent name. There are Thorpes in Linca., Essex, Norfolk, and elsewhere. It is also spelt *throp* or *thrup*; hence we have THRUP END, near Lidlington.

It also appears as a suffix, as in Milnthorpe, i.e. 'mill-village,' in Westmoreland. It is noted in the E. Dial. Dict., s.v. *Thorpe*, that Ravensthorpe in Northants. is pronounced Ranstrup. It is not doubted that this form *-trup* or *-trop* is sometimes further altered to *-drup* or *-drop*. It appears, accordingly, in Soul-drop, which lies to the S.E. of Knotting.

SOULDROP.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Soldrope*, *Suldrope*, F.A.; *Sulthrop*, E.T.; *Suldrope*, H.R., vol. ii. The form *Sulthrop* is evidently the oldest, and proves that *drop* resulted from *throp*.

We might explain the spelling *Soldrope* by help of the prov. E. *sole*, a pool of stagnant water, which is still in use in Kent. Several place-names are formed from it; see the E. Dial. Dict. It represents the A.S. *sol*, a miry pond; and gives the sense as being 'pond-village.'

But the better spelling of the old prefix is obviously *Sul-*. This represents the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place, and gives the sense of 'mire-village.' It comes to the same thing.

41. TOWN, -TON.

A large number of place-names end in *-ton*, the unstressed form of *town*, of A.S. *tūn*. The old sense of *town* was often a farm, a home-stead, a farm-house with all its belongings; it was from such a beginning that towns often took their rise.

Some names end in *-ing-ton* or *-in-ton*; these will be considered separately from the rest, in § 42 (p. 57).

In the first set we have Barton, Beeston, Campton, Carlton, Chalton, Charlton, Clifton, Clipstone, Dunton, Eaton, Everton, Flitton, Houghton, Kempston, Leighton, Luton, Marston, Milton, Potton, Shelton, Staughton, Stratton, Sutton, Westoning, Wootton, and Wyboston.

We may also consider Chawston at the same time, though it did not end in *-ton* originally.

In the second set we have Billington, Cardington, Chellington, Eggington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, Stevington, Toddington, Willington, and Wymington.

Harlington was formerly Harlingdon, and has already been noticed under *-DON* (p. 14). The same remark applies to Caddington, Roxton, and Shillington (pp. 13, 16).

BARTON IN THE CLAY.—There are a large number of Bartons, and the word has been explained in the New Eng. Dict. Spelt *Bertone*, D.B.; *Bertune*, R.C.; *Berton*, I.p.m. It meant a demesne farm, or the demesne lands of a manor, not let out to tenants, but reserved for the lord's own use. Its simpler meaning was merely a 'farm-yard.' From the A.S. *bere-tūn*, a barley-enclosure, courtyard, farm-yard. From *bere*, barley; and *tūn*, an enclosure.

BEESTON; near Sandy.—Spelt *Bistone*, D.B.; *Beston*, E.T., H.R., R.C.; *Beistune*, *Besetone*, R.B.; *Beestone*, F.A. The corresponding A.S. form would be *Bēos tūn*, where *Bēos* is the gen. of *Bēo*, used as a personal name. In the usual sense of 'bee,' the A.S. *bēo* is indeclinable in the singular, the pl. being *bēon*, Chaucer's *been*. Thus the sense is 'Bee's farm.' The name of John Bee occurs in 1428 in F.A.

CAMPTON.—Spelt *Chambeltone* (with *Ch* for *C*), D.B.; *Cameltune*, *Kameltuue*, R.C.; *Cameltone*, F.A., A.M. The A.S. *camel* is only known in the sense of 'camel,' borrowed from Latin. If this had been adopted as a name, which is unlikely, we should have expected the gen. form *Cameles*. I cannot explain this place-name. There is a river named Camel in Cornwall; so perhaps there was once a stream so named in Beds. River-names are sometimes of Celtic origin.

CARLTON; near Chellington.—Spelt *Carlentone*, D.B.; *Carletone*, R.C.; *Karleton*, T.N.; *Carlton*, F.A. There are many Carltons. *Carl* is the Norse equivalent of the A.S. *cœrl*, whence Charlton (below). The Old Norse *karl*, a husbandman, was also a proper name. Its combining form is *Karla-*; which seems to have been treated as an A.S. weak sb., with a gen. in *-an*, thus producing a form *Carlantun* instead of the more nearly correct *Karlatus*. It is remarkable that Carlton in Camb. is likewise spelt *Carlentone* in D.B. The sense is 'Karl's farm.'

CHALTON; near Sundon.—It seems to be the same place as the *Cealhtun* mentioned in Æthelstan Ætheling's will, which also mentions *Hocganclif*, apparently *Hockliffe*. The form *Cealhtun* stands for *Cealcūn*, according to the rule that *ct* becomes *ht* in Anglo-Saxon; see the explanation of **LEIGHTON** (p. 52). Thus the sense is 'chalk farm.'

CHARLTON; to the S.W. of Blunham.—Misspelt *Chalton* on the Ordnance map; but D.B. mentions *Cerlentone* as a manor near Blunham.—Spelt *Cherletone*, R.B., F.A.; answering to A.S. *Ceorla tūn*, 'farm of the churls' or husbandmen; *ceorla* being the gen. pl. There are many Charltons.

CLIFTON, to the E. of Shefford.—It is also the name of a hundred. Spelt *Cliftone*, D.B.; *Clifton*, E.T., H.R., F.A., T.N. From A.S. *clif*, a cliff, steep slope. The sense is 'cliff farm.'

CLIPSTONE, in Eggington (Kelly).—Spelt *Clipestun*, *Clippes-tun*, C.R.; *Clipston*, R.C. The spelling with final *-tun* shows that the word is Clips-ton, and not Clip-stone, as no doubt it is often thought to be. The prefix is *Clipes*, gen. of *Clip*, a personal name, of which we have one clear example; see Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 137. The sense is 'Clip's farm.'

DUNTON, near Eyworth.—Spelt *Daintone*, *Domtone*, D.B.; *Duninton*, T.N.; *Dountone*, F.A. The spellings in D.B. cannot be right; they are probably meant for *Danitone*, *Donitone*; the latter being the better. The spelling *Duninton* explains that the name is not compounded of *dūn*, a down, and *tūn*; but that the former element represents the A.S. *Dūnan*, gen. of *Dūna*; as in *Dunan heafde*, Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 603 (A.D. 947). The long *u* explains the form *Dountone*. The sense is 'Dūna's farm.'

EATON.—There are two Eatons; and it is curious that they have different origins, as is apparent from the different early spellings.

EATON SOCON.—Spelt *Etone*, D.B., F.A., R.C., R.B., H.R.; *Eton*, T.N. Here *E-* represents the Mid. Eng. *e*, *ee*, A.S. *ēa*, a stream, a river; and the sense is 'farm on the stream.' As to *Socon*, I suppose it is the same as the word usually spelt *Soken*, A.S. *sōcn*, and has here the sense of 'a district within which certain legal privileges could be exercised.' It occurs in a like sense in *Piers the Plowman*, where there is a reference to 'Rutland soken'; B. ii. 110.

EATON BRAY.—Spelt *Eitone*, D.B.; *Eytone*, F.A.; *Eytone*, *Eitone*, R.B.; *Eyton*, E.T., H.R. So that the modern spelling should rather have been Eyton. The prefix is the Mid. Eng. *ey*, O. Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, an island; a term loosely applied to any piece of land wholly or even partially surrounded by a stream or streams. The sense is 'island farm.' Bray is a family name. The church contains the arms of Edmund, Lord Braye (Kelly).

EVERTON, N.W. of Potton.—Spelt *Euretone*, D.B.; *Everton*, I.p.m., T.N. From A.S. *eofor*, a boar. Literally, 'boar farm.' There is an Everdon in Northants., and an Everley in Wilts., in which Ever thus appears without the gen. suffix.

FLITTON; in the hundred of Flitt.—Flitton is "bounded on the north by the Flitt, a tributary of the Ouse"; Kelly. There is a reference in R.C. to the hundred of *Fleytene* (error for *Fleytone*) or *Flitte*. In D.B., both the hundred and the town are called *Flictham*, probably an error for *Flittham*. We also find the spellings *Flitte*, T.N., E.T., F.A., I.p.m.; *Flitt*, H.R.; *Flitton hundred*, I.p.m. *Flitt* may suitably denote a stream, as being a slightly contracted form of A.S. *flēot*, a stream, prov. E. *fleet*, a shallow channel. We may explain Flitton as 'the farm by the Flitt.' Fletton in Hunts. is from the same A.S. *flēot*.

HOUGHTON CONQUEST.—Spelt *Houstone*, D.B.; *Houctone*, *Houghtone*, A.M.; *Hoctune*, *Houcton*, *Hohtune*, *Hochtone*, *Houghtone*, R.C.; *Houton*, H.R. The *s* in D.B., and the *c*, *g*, *ch*, *gh*, all represent the final guttural (like the German *ch*) in the A.S. *hōh*, a spur or slope of a hill. The sense is 'farm on a hill-slope.' The same A.S. *hōh* is the origin of the termination -HOE, already discussed (p. 29).

Kelly notes that the church has two brasses to members of the Conquest family, dated 1493 and 1500 respectively. I find a mention of John Conquest, of Clopham, i.e. Clapham, in 1316; F.A. In *Magna Britannia*, it is noted that the patrons of the living were then (1720) the Earl of Aylesbury and Sh. Conquest, Esq. It is now in the gift of St John's College, Cambridge.

HOUGHTON REGIS.—That is, King's Houghton; with reference to William I. In D.B. it is said to be 'the royal demesne manor, rated as to ten hides.'

KEMPSTON.—Spelt *Camestone*, D.B.; *Kemeston*, Ex. R., F.A.; *Coembestune*, *Kemestone*, *Kembestone*, R.C.; *Kemmeston*, Cl. R.; *Kemyston*, *Kemston*, *Kempston*, T.N. The use of *a* for *e* in D.B. tends to show that the original vowel was *æ*. It could not have been *e*, as the A.S. *Ce* becomes *Che* in modern

names. In a charter printed in Kemble, iv. 143, and in Thorpe, *Diplomat.* p. 381, there is a mention of 'Crangfeldæ et Kemestan.' Thorpe says that Kemestan refers to Kempston in Norfolk, but it rather means Kempston in Beds., which is only six miles from Cranfield in a direct line. In footnote 14 on p. 383, Thorpe gives a much older spelling, viz. *Cæmbestunæ*, from another MS. Here *Cæmbes* is the gen. of *Cæmb*, so that the sense is 'Cæmb's farm.' No other example of the name *Cæmb* is known, but the A.S. *cam̃b* means a comb, a crest of a cock, or a crest on a helmet, and the last sense might easily serve as a distinguishing name for a man. There is a Kempsey in Worcestershire, but the D.B. spelling is different, viz. *Chemesige*, and the A.S. form is *Cymesige*, probably a contraction for *Cymenesige*, 'Cymen's isle,' as Mr W. H. Duignan suggests in his book on Worcestershire Place-names. The *c* before *y* remains hard.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD.—Spelt *Lestone* (with *s* for A.S. *h*, as often), D.B.; *Leyton*, H.R.; *Leyhton*, T.N.; *Leytune*, A.M.; *Leython Busard*, E.T. (1291); *Leythone Busard*, F.A. (1316); and *Leghton Busard*, temp. Henry III., I.p.m. Spelt *Leighton Beaudesert*, *Magna Britannia* (1720), without any authority; but the name was probably given to it to enable some antiquary to discover one more absurd 'corruption' in place-names. Kelly says: "thought to be a corruption of Beaudesert, though some have derived it from *Bossard*, one of whom was Knight of the shire in the time of Edw. III." However, the name was already spelt *Busard* even in the time of Henry III.; and it is obviously derived from the name of a family called *Busard* (with one *s*). No doubt the family name was taken from the Mid. Eng. *busard*, O.F. *busart*, a buzzard; such nick-names were common at that date, especially if uncomplimentary. A buzzard was an inferior kind of a hawk, useless for falconry, and so came to be an epithet for a stupid man. The old proverb, 'one cannot make a sparrow-hawk of a buzzard,' is quoted in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 4033, and occurs in the French original, which is of early date. It follows that the modern spelling *Buzzard* is absolutely correct.

As to Leighton, there is no difficulty. There are plenty of Leightons, because the word simply meant 'garden.' It is from the A.S. *lēah-tūn*, lit. 'leek-town,' i.e. place for cultivating leeks, which was once a general word for vegetables. The A.S. for leek is *lēac*; but this became *lēah* on account of the phonetic law whereby almost every A.S. *ct* passed into *ht*. Exceptions are not common; however, Acton is one. I have already explained this in my Place-names of Hunts., a county which contains two Leightons and a Leightonstone; and Herts. possesses a Layton.

LUTON.—This interesting place-name has never been properly explained. It occurs as *Lygtūnes*, in the gen. case, in the Parker MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 917; and as *Lygetūn* in a late copy of a charter, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 403. This has often been said to refer to Leighton Buzzard, of which the A.S. form was *Lēahtūn*; but it can hardly be contended that *yge* and *eah* are the same thing!

Yet the matter is extremely simple. The river now called the Lea was called in A.S. *Lyge*; see the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 895, where it occurs as *Lygan*, in the dative case. It is clear that *Lyge-tūn* means 'Lea-town'; and it is a fact that Luton is on the river Lea, whilst Leighton Buzzard is not.

The phonology of the river-name is a little difficult. It resembles the A.S. *lyge*, a falsehood, mod. E. *lie*, which in many Northern dialects became *lee*, a form used even in Harding's Chronicle. Perhaps this helps to explain it. It also remains as Lea in the place-name Leagrave. We should rather have expected the modern name to have been the Lye; and it is interesting to find that in Magna Britannia (1720) the name of Leagrave is spelt Ligrave.

But it can also be shown, independently of phonology, that the A.S. *Lygetun* must be Luton. In Collections towards the History and Antiquities of Beds. (1783), p. 29, it is rightly said that Luton, formerly Lygetun, was given by King Offa to St Albans in 795. The Charter is extant in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 367; clearly assigning to St Albans some land at Lygetun.

But in the Collectanea for Bedfordshire, p. 52*, we read: "Vicar' in eccl' de Luton, que est Abbat' et Convent' Sti. Albani, auctoritate concilii ordinata est hoc modo, A.D. 1209"; Reg. in the Bp of Lincoln's Registers; and there is a note that "the abbey held the rectory in their own hands only from 1166 to 1199; after which they appointed a vicar." This shows, beyond a doubt, that Lygetun was Luton.

At the last reference the name of the place is given as Luton, Luyton, or Lee Lauton, and is there explained as signifying 'the town by the water,' i.e. by the river 'Lee.'

It is somewhat surprising that the river Lyge should now be spelt Lea, even though we remember that the A.S. *g* denoted a *y*-sound, or a mere glide; no doubt it became *Lië* in Mid. Eng., with *i* as in E. *machine*, just as the adj. *drÿge* (now *dry*) became *drië*, with the same *i*. But there its development was arrested; the final *e* fell away, and a sound was left which we should now denote by *Lee*. This *Lee*, which would be the correct spelling, has been altered to *Lea* in comparatively modern times by the influence upon the eye of the written word *lea* in the sense of meadow, and is quite unmeaning. It does not mean that it would have rhymed with *sea* in the days when *sea* was pronounced as *say*.

But in composition with *-ton*, the result was different. The old spellings are: *Loitone*, D.B.; *Luitone*, F.A.; *Luiton*, Cl. R.; *Luitona*, R.C.; *Luyton*, R.C., I.p.m.; *Luton*, H.R. Here the *i* or *y* may represent the glide denoted by the *g* in *Lyge*, the final *e* being suppressed; the Norman long *û* being used to denote the very sound which in A.S. was written as long *ȳ*; i.e. the sound of the modified *u* in the German *grün*, green. After this, the glide-sound was soon entirely lost, so that we already find the modern spelling in H.R.; whilst the *u* was developed precisely as if it had been of *French* origin, so that it is now sounded like the *u* in *lunar* or *lucid* or *lucre*; or like the *ui* in *fruit*.

Another explanation of the spelling *ui* is afforded by the fact that it was sometimes employed in place of the A.S. *ȳ*; and perhaps this supposition is the easier of the two, the *-ge* being ignored.

MARSTON MORTEYNE.—Spelt *Merstone*, D.B.; *Merston*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Mershton*, F.A. There are many Marstons. They all mean 'marsh town' or 'marsh farm.' In F.A. i. 2, I find: "Constantinus de Morteyn tenet manerium de Merston cum villa de Merston"; A.D. 1284—6.

In the same parish is **MARSTON PILLINGE**. For the explanation of Pillinge, see under -ING (p. 35).

MILTON.—It would be an easy guess to derive Milton from *mill*; and it would be wrong.

It is a remarkable fact that a large number of our Miltons were once called Middleton, i.e. 'middle farm.' The number of Middletons that still remain is surprising; there are more than twenty.

Spelt *Mildentone*, D.B. (wrongly); but also *Middelton*, D.B. (rightly); *Middelton*, H.R., T.N. In the A.S. Chronicle, both Milton Abbas (Dors.) and Milton (Kent) are spelt *Middeltun*. Both Milton Bryant and Milton Ernest were once called Middleton. Bryant refers to the family of Brian, and Ernest to the family of Ernys. "Rogeris Extraneus tenet . . . un. f.m. in Middelton per heredem Roberti Brian, qui est tanquam in custodia sua, de heredibus de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), et idem heredes de rege"; F.A. i. 1 (1284—6). "Johannes Ernys et alii quondam tenuerunt di.f.m. in Midyltone"; F.A. i. 38 (1428).

POTTON.—Spelt *Potone*, D.B.; *Potton*, H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A., E.T. Spelt *Pottune*, dat., in the will of Ælfhelm of Wratting, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. It doubtless stands for Pottantun, i.e. 'Potta's farm.' The name of Pot or Potta may also be inferred from the tribal name Potting, which occurs both in Potting-dun and in Potting-tun; both are in Kemble's Index.

SHELTON; in the N. end of the county.—Spelt *Eseltone*, *Esseltone*, D.B.; *Sceltone*, F.A.; *Shelton*, T.N. In D.B. the *s* or *ss* is a makeshift for the sound of *sh*, which did not exist in Norman. The A.S. symbol was *sc*. The prefixed *E* in the D.B. forms is very characteristic; as the Normans could not easily pronounce the E. *sh* without a preparatory vowel-sound.

Hence such forms as *establish*, *especial*, as parallel to *stablish*, *special*. The A.S. form with the same prefix is *Scelfdune*, dative; Earle, Land Charters, p. 396. *Scelf-dun* is a compound, meaning 'shelf-down,' or 'down with shelving slopes,' applied to the neighbouring hill. And Shelton, for Shelf-ton, means 'the sloping-hill farm.' There is a Shelton in Staffordshire with the same origin (see Duignan's Staffs. Place-names); and there are Sheltons in Norfolk and Notts.

STAUGHTON; called Little Staughton or Staughton Parva.—Great Staughton is in Hunts., and is explained in my Place-names of Hunts. as equivalent to Stockton. The spellings *Stoctone*, *Stokton*, *Stoutone*, all in F.A., corroborate this. For the explanation of *stock* see Redbournestoke, explained under *STOKE* (p. 44). The sense is 'stock farm,' or 'farm near a stump.' The *ct* in A.S. *stoctūn* became *ght* precisely as the *ct* in A.S. *lēac-tun* became *ght* in Leighton. See the explanation of *LEIGHTON* (p. 52).

STRATTON.—Stratton Park lies to the S.E. of Biggleswade. Spelt *Stratone*, D.B.; *Stratton*, F.A. Lit. 'street town,' or the farm beside the street. The street is the Old Roman Way which extends, almost in a straight line, from Biggleswade to Baldock.

SUTTON; to the S. of Potton.—Spelt *Sudtone*, *Suttone*, D.B.; *Suttone*, R.C.; *Sutton*, E.T., F.A. The spelling *Sudtone* is intermediate between Sutton and the original A.S. *Sūhtūn*. The sense is merely 'south farm.' There are more than forty Suttons.

WESTONING.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Weston*, E.T., H.R.; *Weston Ing*, Cat. The suffixed *Ing* has already been explained under -ING (p. 36). The sense is 'west farm,' lit. *west-town*; and it was once tenanted by Wm. Ing. There are nearly thirty Westons.

WOOTTON; to the S.W. of Bedford.—Spelt *Otone*, D.B.; *Wodetone*, R.B.; *Wotton*, F.A., E.T.; *Witon*, H.R. The spelling *Otone*, for *Wotone*, is due to the loss of *w* before *o* or *u* in Norman; they called a *wood*, a 'ood. The spelling *Witon*

points back to a very old time, when the early A.S. form *widu*, a wood, was still in use, and is in this case dialectally preserved; the more usual form is *wudu*, whence E. *wood*. The literal sense is *wood-town*, i.e. 'wood farm.' There is still a wood at Wootton, called Wootton Wood. There are a dozen Woottons and three Wottons.

WYBOSTON; in Eaton Socon.—It lies to the W. of Little Barford. Spelt *Wiboldestone*, D.B.; *Wyboldiston*, H.R. The sense is obviously 'Wigbald's farm.' *Wigbald* is the Mercian spelling of the A.S. *Wigbeald*, a known name of which there are six examples. *Wig* means 'war,' and *beald* means 'bold.' There is another Wyboston in Hunts., which I have already thus explained in my Place-names of Hunts., on less clear evidence. Wobaston in Staffordshire is only another form of the same word, and is explained from the same source in Duignan's Place-names of Staffs.

CHAWSTON.—This is the most convenient place for considering Chawston, though this name did not originally end in *-ton*. It lies to the N. of Roxton. Spelt *Chaelestorne*, *Calnestorne* (for *Caluestorne*), D.B.; *Calvesterne*, R.B.; *Chalmstern* (probably an error for *Chaluistern*), H.R.; *Chalvesterne*, R.C., F.A., I.p.m.; *Chalsterne*, F.A. As to this difficult form, of which neither element is at all certain, I can only guess. Perhaps some one else may hereafter interpret it better. As to the former element, we can best reconcile the two forms in D.B. by supposing them to represent *Chalves* and *Calves*. I think these answer, respectively, to the A.S. *Cealfes* and O. Mercian *Calfes*, genitives of A.S. *Cealf* and O. Merc. *Calf*, modern E. *calf*, respectively. This requires that *chalf* should be a dialectal form for *calf*, but there is evidence for this form only in the Kentish dialect. For Kentish, it is quite certain; for in the A.S. versions of the Gospels, in Luke xv. 27, the two Kentish MSS. have the readings *chealf* and *chalf*. The development of the sound of *cea-* is difficult; for while the A.S. *cealf* answers to the modern E. *calf*, the A.S. *cealc* answers to the modern E. *chalk*; a fact of which I do not remember to have seen an explanation. My theory is that, whilst the A.S. *cealf*

was superseded by the O. Merc. *calf* (whence the modern E. *calf*), the A.S. *Cealf*, considered as a proper name, produced a Middle English form *Chalf*, whence a later *Chauf*; the genitive of which would be *Chalves*, later *Chauves*, and finally *Chaws*. We have no evidence that the A.S. *Cealf* was used as a personal name, but the use of the names of animals as personal names has always been common in English; and in Bardsley's work on English Surnames, we are told, with reference to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that "Richard le Calf, Godwin le Bulloc, Roger le Colt are all of common occurrence, and still abide with us."

The second half of the word is also very difficult. I suppose the D.B. suffix *-torn* to represent the A.S. *thorn*, a thorn. The change from the difficult *sth* to the simple *st* would be natural enough, especially for a Norman. That this is right, is rendered probable by the alternate form *-tern*, which would equally well represent the A.S. *thyrne*, a thornbush. I have shown, in my Place-names of Hunts., that the place-name Bythorn (by the thorn) was originally called Bytherne (by the thornbush); and the name was naturally altered when the old word *therne* became obsolete.

I would explain in a like manner the name Woodmansterne, in Surrey. A very likely sense is 'woodman's thornbush.'

The result of my guesses as to Chawston is that it originally meant 'Cealf's thorn' or 'Cealf's thornbush.' All that is certain is that the modern ending *-ton* is delusive, and that it cannot have formerly meant 'town' or 'farm.'

42. THE SUFFIX -INGTON.

I now come to consider the names that end in *-ington*.

They can (with some trouble) be divided into two sets. In the former, the ending is correctly used and refers to tribal or family settlements. But in the latter it is used erroneously, and has been substituted for something else.

In the former class are included the following: Billington, Cardington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, and Toddington.

In the doubtful class are included the following: Chellington, Eggington, Stevington, Willington, and Wymington.

BILLINGTON, to the S. of Leighton Buzzard.—*Billinges*, R.C.; *Billing*, *Billingbure*, R.B. Literally 'farm of the Billings,' or of the sons of Billa. Billa is a known name. The Billings are further commemorated in Billingborough (Linca.), Billingford (Norf.), Billingham (Durham), Billingham (Linca.), Billingshurst (Sussex), and in the famous Billingsgate.

CARDINGTON.—Ill-spelt *Chernetone*, D.B.; *Kerdington*, R.C.; *Kerdington*, H.R., F.A., E.T.; *Kerdynghon*, I.p.m. Apparently, 'the farm of the Cærdings,' or of the sons of Cærda. The name Cærda occurs in Cærdan-hlæw, i.e. Cærda's low or burial mound; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 147. There is another Cardington in Shropshire.

GOLDINGTON.—Spelt *Goldentone*, D.B.; *Goldington*, T.N., E.T.; *Goldingthone*, F.A. It is the 'farm of the Goldings or sons of Golda'; which is a known name.

LIDLINGTON.—The *d* is incorrect; it should certainly be Litlington. Spelt *Litincton*, D.B. (incorrectly); *Litlington*, T.N.; *Litlingtune*, A.M. The same as Litlington in Cambs., which is also spelt *Lutlington*. As *i* and *u* both result from an A.S. *y*, the A.S. form would be *Lytlinga-tūn*, i.e. 'farm of the Lytlings'; from A.S. *lytel*, modern E. *little*. The name of Eadric Lytle (spelt *litle*) occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 369; and the name Lytelman (little man) occurs in Searle's Onomasticon. I think this explanation better than the one given in my Place-names of Cambs., where I wrongly supposed that Lidlington (Beds.) is correctly spelt with a *d*; whereas the *d* is modern.

PODINGTON, or PUDDINGTON; in the N.W. corner of the county.—Spelt *Podintone*, D.B.; *Podington*, F.A.; *Podington*, T.N., E.T. The Normans used *o* to denote both the *o* in *pod* and the *u* in *pudding*; so that the old spellings tell us nothing. If we are guided by the spelling Puddington, we may take the name to mean 'farm of the Pudings' or sons of Puda: which is a known name. The alternative is to take Poddings as meaning 'sons of Podda'; which is also a known name.

TODDINGTON.—Spelt *Dodindone* (for *Todindone*), *Dodintone*

(for *Todintone*), D.B.; *Todingedon*, H.R.; *Todingduna*, A.M.; *Todingdon*, F.A., E.T.; *Todingtone*, R.B.; *Tudingdone*, A.M. The suffix thus seems doubtful, but the name may have been two-fold; in which case *Todingedon* would refer to a hill, and *Todingeton* to a farm near it.

As the Norman *o* often signifies an A.S. *u*, we may pay especial attention to the spelling *Tudingdone*, and to the much later spelling *Tuddington*, given in *Magna Britannia* (1720). The tribe or family referred to must be, I think, the Tudings, or sons of Tuda (originally, according to Sweet, pronounced with long *u*). Tuda is a well-authenticated name, and occurs in the A.S. Chronicle. We even find *Tudincgatun*, probably *Toddington*, in *Thorpe, Diplom.* p. 527.

I now proceed to consider the second class of names ending in *-ington*, which do not really refer to names of tribes or families.

CHELLINGTON; near Harrold.—Not in D.B. Spelt *Chelwintone*, *Chelwentone*, *Chelwyntone*, F.A.; *Chelwinton*, I.p.m.; *Chelvynton*, I.p.m., vol. ii.; *Chelinton*, T.N.; *Cheleton*, A.M. The prefix represents *Ceolwynne*, gen. of *Ceolwynn*, a female personal name. Female names are not common, but a few clear examples occur, probably from the occupation of a farm by a widow. The genitive of a fem. strong sb. ends in *-e* instead of *-es*, and regularly disappears in later forms. The sense is 'Ceolwynn's farm.'

EGGINGTON; E. of Leighton Buzzard.—Spelt *Egginton* in *Magna Britannia* (1720); so that the intrusion of the *g* is quite modern. There is another Eggington in Derbyshire, which is spelt *Ekynton*, *Egindon* in F.A.; *Eginton*, I.p.m.; *Egentona*, A.M. Perhaps the prefix answers to A.S. *Ecgwynne*, gen. of *Ecgwynn*, a known female name. The A.S. *cg* regularly denoted *gg*. The sense is 'Ecgwynn's farm.' It can hardly mean 'Ecga's farm,' as that would have become Egton. There is an Egton in Yorkshire.

STEVINGTON, or STEVENTON (Kelly); to the E. of Turvey.—Spelt *Stiuentone*, D.B.; *Stiventon*, *Styventon*, R.C.; *Stivintone*, *Steventone*, R.B.; *Steventone*, *Stevintone*, F.A. *Stiven* represents

an A.S. form *Styfan*, gen. of *Styfa*, in which the *f* was pronounced as *v*. This name is not recorded, but occurs in the diminutive form *Styfec* at least thrice. From the genitive *Styfeces* was formed the name of Stetchworth, Cambs.; see my *Place-names of Cambs.*, p. 27; and also Stechford in Worcester-shire. And from the weak form *Styfece* is derived the name of Stukeley in Hunts. The sense is 'Styfa's farm.' The change from Stiventon to Steventon was doubtless owing to the influence of the Norman name of Stephen. There is another Steventon in Hants., and another in Berks.

WILLINGTON; to the E. of Bedford.—Spelt *Welitone*, D.B.; *Wyliton*, E.T.; *Willinton*, F.A., p. 50 (1316). The D.B. form is the oldest and the best; *Weli* answers to A.S. *welig*, a willow-tree. The sense was probably 'willow farm.' See the explanation, under -LEY, of Willey, as the name of a hundred (p. 39).

WYMINGTON, in the N.E. corner, near Puddington.—Spelt *Wimentione*, D.B.; *Wimentione*, A.M.; *Wimention*, Cl.R.; *Wemyngtone*, F.A.; *Wyminton*, Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wyminton*, *Wymington*, H.R., vol. ii. The evidence plainly suggests an A.S. form *Wiman*, gen. of *Wima*. But no such name as *Wima* is known. It may stand for *Wilma*, or we may suppose that the name is old, and has been much contracted; perhaps from *Wigmund*. There is no old authority for the alternative spelling *Wynnington*, as in Kelly.

43. TREE.

Only in WIXAMTREE, the name of a hundred. The place itself is now lost; but the sense is certain. Spelt *Wichestanestou*, D.B., where the suffix is E. *stow*, a place; *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre*, F.A.; *Wyxconestre*, H.R.; with the very common clerical error of *c* for *t*. The D.B. spelling *Wichestan* evidently represents *Wikestan*, a Norman form of the common A.S. name *Wigstan* or *Wihstan*, compounded of *wig*, war, and *stān*, stone. The A.S. *hs* is often replaced by *x*, so that the later form *Wixton* accurately represents *Wihstan*. In the A.S. Chronicle,

under the date 800, Wihstan is also spelt Weohstan and Weoxtan. The name Wixamtree means 'Wigstān's tree.'

44. WADE.

Wade is the A.S. *wæd*, a ford, a place where a stream can be waded through, cognate with (but not borrowed from) the Latin *uadum*, a ford.

BIGGLESWADE, a town, and the name of a hundred.—Spelt *Bichelesuade*, D.B.; also, erroneously, *Picheleswade*, and even *Bichelesuorde*, D.B.; *Bikeleswad*, H.R.; *Bikeleswade*, E.T., A.M., I.p.m.; *Bicleswade*, T.N. The prefix answers to an A.S. form *Bicles*, gen. of *Bicel*, diminutive of the known name *Bica*, which, according to Sweet, had a long *i*. The nom. *Bicel* would become *Bichel* in later English, but the *k*-sound would be preserved in the gen. form *Bicles*, in which the *e* before the *l* would be dropped in A.S., though it would readily be reinserted by a Norman scribe. The old name must at first have been pronounced as Bickleswade, and the 'voicing' of *ck* to *gg* took place later. The sense is 'Bicel's ford.'

45. WELL.

As in Holwell, Ickwell, Radwell, Sewell.

HOLWELL; near Shillington, to the E.—Misspelt Holywell in Philips' Atlas. Spelt *Holewelle*, D.B., R.B., R.C.; *Holewell*, T.N.; *Holwelle*, R.C. We find *æt Holewelle* in a late charter, in Kemble, vi. 211; and an earlier form *to Holan wyll*, with reference perhaps to Holwell in Oxfordshire, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 568. Here *holan* is the dat. of *hol*, adj., hollow, and *wyll* is the dat. of *wyll*, a well. The sense is 'at the hollow well'; in the dative case.

ICKWELL; in Northill (Kelly).—Spelt *Iekewelle* (for *Yekewelle*), F.A. (1346); *Gikewelle*, *Gykewella* (with *G* for *Y*), A.M. The Mid. Eng. *yek*, *yeke*, means a cuckoo, and is derived from the A.S. *gēac*, a cuckoo. The form *yek* was shortened to *yik*, and then the initial *y* was dropped; see this illustrated under NORTHILL (p. 34). The sense is 'cuckoo-well.'

RADWELL; to the N.W. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Radeuuelle*, D.B.; *Radewelle*, F.A.; *Radevell*, T.N. I have discussed this name with reference to Radwell in Herts., where I give two solutions. It either means 'Ræda's well,' or else simply 'red well.' I believe the latter is right; see the notice of Redbournestoke, under the heading **STOKE** (p. 44).

SEWELL; in Houghton Regis (Kelly); near Toternhoe.—Kelly notes that Houghton Regis church contains an effigy of Sir John Sewell, knight. But Sewell was at first a place-name, and is spelt *Sewelle* in D.B.; compare 'Joh. de Sewelle,' F.A. And we find it as *Seuewella* in A.M. I suppose it to be the same as the A.S. *Syfan wylle*, i.e. 'Syfa's well,' mentioned in a Hants. charter dated 938; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 444. The A.S. *Syfan* would become *Seue* (*Seve*) in Norman; and the passage from *Seuewell* to *Sewell* is easy. The A.S. *Syfan* is the gen. of *Syfa*, a personal name that is not otherwise known, though it may possibly be related to *Seofeca*.

46. WICK.

As in Astwick, Flitwick, Hardwick, and Hinwick.

Wick represents the A.S. *wīc*, a village; not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *uicus*.

ASTWICK.—Spelt *Estuuiche*, D.B.; *Estwike*, F.A. It means 'east village.'

FLITWICK; bounded on the S. by the river Flitt.—Spelt *Flicteuuiche* (with *ct* for *tt*), D.B.; *Flettewyk*, T.N.; *Flettewyc*, E.T.; *Flittewike*, A.M.; *Fletewyk*, l.p.m. It means 'village by the Flitt.' The spelling *Flete* represents the A.S. *flēot*, a stream. See the remarks on **FLITTON** (p. 50).

HARDWICK, to the S.W. of Felpersham.—Spelt *Herdwic*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Herdwik*, F.A. Hardwick in Cambs. is from A.S. *heorde*, a herd or flock. The sense is 'herd-village.' There are several Hardwicks.

HINWICK, near Puddington.—*Haneuuiic*, *Heneuuiic*, *Haneuuiich*, *Heneuuiich*, D.B.; *Henewike*, F.A.; *Henewic*, Cl.R., vol. ii.;

Hynewik, H.R., vol. ii.; *Hinewik*, H.R., vol. ii. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hanan*, gen. of *Hana*, a personal name. The sense is 'Hana's village.' The literal meaning of *hana* is a cock; the feminine is the modern E. *hen*.

47. WOLD.

Wold is a late form of the O. Mercian *wald*, A.S. *weald*, a wood. It now often means a tract of open country.

HARROLD.—Spelt *Hareuuelle*, D.B.; *Harewold*, F.A., T.N.; *Hareuuald*, *Hareward*, C.R.; *Harewold*, I.p.m. The D.B. form means 'hare-well,' and will not account for the modern form; the latter means 'hare-wold,' the *w* being dropped. Shakespeare has *old* for *wold*; King Lear, iii. 4. 125.

48. WORTH.

As in Colmworth, Edworth, Eyworth, Tebworth, Tilsworth, Wrestlingworth.

The A.S. *worth* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm. It is closely allied to *worth* in the sense of 'value'; and may be taken to mean 'property' or 'holding,' or 'farm.'

COLMWORTH, to the E. of Bolnhurst.—Spelt *Colmeworde*, *Culmeworde*, D.B.; *Colmwyrtne*, E.T.; *Colmeworthe*, F.A.; *Colmworth*, H.R. The prefix answers to A.S. *Culman*, gen. of *Culma*; and the sense is 'Culma's farm.' We do not find the exact form *Culma* elsewhere, but we find the related strong form *Culm*; and (with mutation of *u* to *y*) we also find both *Cylma* and *Cylm*. See Searle's Onomasticon.

EDWORTH.—Spelt *Edeworde*, D.B.; *Edesworthe*, *Edeworth*, F.A.; *Edeworth*, E.T.; *Eddewurth*, T.N.; *Eddeworthe*, I.p.m. The prefix answers to Eadan, gen. of *Eada* (with long *Ea*), a pet-name for any of the numerous names beginning with *Ead*-, as *Eadwine*, *Eadweald*, &c. The prefix *Edes-* in F.A. intimates that the name may once have been used in full; and if the name *Edwoldeshowe* in H.R. refers to Edworth, the full name was *Eadweald*. The sense is 'Eada's farm,' possibly 'Eadweald's farm.'

EYWORTH.—Spelt *Aieuuorde*, D.B.; also *Aisseuorde*, D.B.; *Eyworthe*, H.R.; *Eyworth*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m., F.A. We may compare the prefix *Ey-* with the prefix in the old forms of EATON BRAY (p. 49); and so explain it as 'island-farm.' Eyworth is on a promontory between two rivers, and has streams both on the north and south-east. The form *Aisseuorde*, if correct, is hard to explain; so that, in that case, the name remains unsolved. But it is probably a mistake.

TEBWORTH; between Hockliffe and Chalgrave.—Spelt *Thebworth* (with *Th* for *T*), A.M.; also *Thebbeworthe*, *Teburthe*, A.M. Fortunately, the A.S. form of the name occurs as *Teobbanwyrthe*, in the dat. case, in a charter relating to Chalgrave and Tebworth, dated 926; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 335. Thus the sense is 'Teobba's farm.'

TILSWORTH; to the N.W. of Dunstable.—Misspelt *Pileworde*, D.B.; *Tulesworthe*, H.R.; *Tulesworth*, *Tullesworth*, F.A.; *Tolesworthe*, R.B. The only A.S. known name that suits the prefix is the A.S. *Tugel*, occurring in *Tugeles mōr*, 'Tugel's moor,' in a charter dated 1044; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 90, l. 8. As the A.S. *g* in such a word was a mere glide, and disappeared in the thirteenth century (so that, e.g. the A.S. *tigel* became *tile* in l. 1533 of the Cursor Mundi), the A.S. *Tugeles* would necessarily become *Tules* in H.R. The *o* in *Tolesworthe* is due to the frequent use of *o* for *u* by Norman scribes. A likely sense of Tilsworth is 'Tugel's farm.' But this is only a guess. If we could find such an A.S. form as *Tull*, it would fit better. We find the weak form *Tulla*.

WRESTLINGWORTH.—Spelt *Werateuorde*, *Warateuorde*, D.B.; *Wrasingwrthe*, E.T.; *Wrastlingworth*, F.A., Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wrastlingworth*, H.R. The spellings in D.B. are valueless, owing to the inability of the Norman scribe to deal with the sound; but the use of *war*, *wer*, to denote *wr* is striking. The true A.S. spelling is *Wræstlingaworth*, meaning 'farm of the Wræstlings' or of the sons of Wræstel. Wræstel is a scarce name, but the gen. Wræstles occurs in the place-name *Wræstles hyll*, i.e. Wræstel's hill; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 535. The literal sense of *wræstel* is 'one who wrests' or twists, but it

very likely had the sense of wrestler, of which the usual form is *wrestlere*. There is a real connexion with the modern verbs *to wrestle* and *to wrest*.

49. YATE.

Yate is the A.S. *geat*, a gate. It occurs in Markyate.

MARKYATE; transferred to Herts. in 1897.—Spelt *Markyate*, E.T., I.p.m. Formerly called Markyate Street, often contracted to Market Street, because it lies on the famous old road called Watling Street. The word *mark* means 'boundary'; and the sense is 'boundary gate.' It is just on the boundary between Beds. and Herts.

50. MISCELLANEOUS NAMES.

All the principal names that involve distinct suffixes or epithets have been discussed. A few more may be noted; most of the places are of little consequence.

BEADLOW; near Clophill.—I find no early mention of it; but it probably represents A.S. *Bedan hlāw*, i.e. 'Beda's burial-mound.' See Bedford (under FORD, p. 19); and -LOW (p. 39).

BROGBOROW, or BROGBOROUGH.—Brogborough Middle Farm lies to the N. of Ridgmont. In F.A., vol. ii., the spellings *Brocbury* and *Brogbury* occur, with reference to a place in Herefordshire. So no doubt Brogborough stands for an older Brokborough, where Brok- is a shortened form of Brook, as in other cases. In fact, Brogborough is probably the *Brockeberge* mentioned in A.M. iii. 171. The sense is 'brook-fort.'

BROOM; in Southill.—Spelt *Brom*, R.B. The reference is simply to the plant so called.

CHILTERN.—Chiltern Green lies to the S.E. of Luton. Spelt *Ciltarn* in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 1009. In Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 52, there is a reference to *Cilte wudu*, i.e. 'Cilte wood'; and again, at p. 415, to *Cilte cumbe*, i.e. 'Cilte combe,' now Chilcombe (Hants.). *Ciltarn* is compounded of *Cilt-* or *Cilte* and *ærn*, *ern*, a small house, habitation, cottage.

The meaning of *Cilt* is not known. *Cilt* looks like a feminine personal name, with a genitive in *-e*.

END.—There are a large number of places of which *end* forms a part. The signification is that of limit or boundary, the beginning or end of a piece of property, and the like. In most cases, local knowledge will supply the sense. There is a good example of its use in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in the *Parson's Prologue*, l. 12: 'As we were entringe at a thropes ende,' *i.e.* as we were arriving at the first beginning of a village.

Most of the examples need no explanation; I may instance Box End, Brook End, Bridge End, Hatch End, Kitchen End, Wood End, etc.

HAYNES, or HAWNES.—The latter is the older form. Spelt *Hagenes*, D.B.; *Haunes*, E.T.; *Hawenes*, F.A.; *Haunes*, I.p.m. It appears to be the genitive sing. from a nom. *Hagen*, a personal name; the word *hām*, home, or something equivalent, being omitted. We do not find the exact form *Hagen*, but the allied weak form *Hagena* occurs thrice, with variant forms *Hagana*, *Hagona*, and *Haguna*; all personal names. Also, the Latin gen. *Hagani*, as if from *Hagan*, which may be right. The change from A.S. *ag* to modern E. *aw* is regular and common.

HOLME.—Holme Farm and Holme Green lie to the S. of Biggleswade. They take their name from a *holm* beside the river Ivel. The original meaning of *holm* is an island, but it is also applied to a piece of flat low-lying ground by a river or stream, submerged or surrounded in time of flood (*New Eng. Dict.*). From the Norse *holmr*, a meadow on a shore. Spelt *Holme*, F.A.; *Holm*, H.R., vol. ii.

HYDE.—West Hyde lies to the S. of Luton Hoo Park. The name *Hyde* is the same word as when we speak of a *hide*, or measure of land. From A.S. *hīgid*, a hide of land.

KENSWORTH.—Originally in Herts., but transferred to Beds. in 1897. The prefix represents the A.S. *cēnes*, gen. of *cēn*, which is the modern E. *keen*. But *Cēn* was used as a personal name. We may explain it by 'Keen's farm'; as Keen is a personal name still.

PICKSHILL; near Turvey.—Spelt *Pichill* in *Magna Britannia* (1720); absurdly spelt *Pictshill* (!) in the Ordnance map. Spelt *Pikeshulle*, F.A., R.B. The prefix is the A.S. *Pīces*, gen. of *Pīc*, answering to the modern E. *Pike* as a surname. *Pīces* occurs in Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 617. Thus the sense is 'Pike's hill.'

REACH.—Heath and Reach form a parish. They lie to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. Reach in Cambs. was spelt *Reche* in 1279, H.R. It is the same word as the modern E. *reach*, in the sense of extension, extent, range, or stretch of country.

ROWNEY.—Rowney Warren is to the S.W. of Southill Park. Though the immediate district is not quite an island, it is much surrounded by water, having streams on both the north and south sides. It is spelt *Runheye* in C.R.; where *heye* is a frequent Norman spelling of the Mid. Eng. *eye*, an island, or a piece of land partially surrounded by water. The spelling *Rown-* shows that the *u* in *Run-* was long; and it probably represents the A.S. *rūwan* or *rūgan*, dat. of *rūh*, rough; an epithet that is remarkably common in place-names. Kemble's Index shows *rūwan cnol*, rough knoll, *rūwan hammas*, rough enclosures, *rūgan dīc*, rough dike, *rūgan hege*, rough hedge, *rūgan hlinc*, rough linch, *rūwan lēah* or *rūan lēah*, rough lea, etc. The usual sense of *rūh*, as regards land, is 'uncultivated.' Thus the sense of Rowney is 'uncultivated tract, nearly surrounded by water.' As is usual, it is in the dative case, which accounts for the *n*. A very striking instance of a similar use of *n* occurs in Newnham, where *Newn* is the dative of *New*.

SEXTONS; near Wilden.—Mr Airy rightly identifies it with *Segresdone* in D.B. This *Segresdone* represents an English perversion of the O. French and Norman *secrestein*, now spelt *sexton*, which was also used as a personal name. It means that it was once owned by a Norman named *Secrestein*.

SOMERIES FARM; to the S.E. of Luton.—From the personal name *Somery*, spelt *Somery* and *Sumery* in F.A.; where we find mention of the surname *de Somery*, showing that *Somery* had previously been a place-name. *Somery* represents an A.S.

sumer īg, 'summer island.' Compare the place-names Somercotes, Somerford, and Somerton.

SUDBURY; a manor of Eaton Socon.—Spelt *Subberie*, D.B.; *Suthbur*', T.N. Literally, 'south bury.' Compare Sutton, *i.e.* 'south town.'

THICKTHORN.—Mentioned in *Magna Britannia* (1720). Thickthorn Farm is to the N. of Houghton Conquest. The sense is obvious.

THORN; in Houghton Regis (Kelly). The sense is obvious.

TINGRITH; near Westoning and Harlington.—Spelt *Tingrei*, D.B.; *Tingrie*, F.A.; *Tingrye*, C.R., F.A.; *Tingri*, F.A., A.M.; *Tingrithe*, A.M.; *Tingeriz*, I.p.m. Here the Norman scribes usually dropped the final *th*, which they could not at first pronounce; one of them ingeniously substitutes the Norman *z*, which was sounded as *ts*. But the English spelling *Tingrithe* is right. The name presents difficulties. *Ting* is not an English word, but the Danish equivalent of A.S. *thing*, a place of meeting, a court. *Rithe* is the prov. E. *riðe*, A.S. *rīth*, masc., *rīðe*, fem., a small stream. The sense is 'stream where a meeting was (once) held.' *Ting* occurs again in Ting-leigh Junction, in Yorkshire (Bradshaw), and in Ting-wall Kirk, near Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles. The traces of Danish in Beds. are very slight, but this is one of them.

UPBURY, between Pulloxhill and Wrest Park.—Spelt *Upberry* in *Magna Britannia* (1720). *Up* means 'high up' or 'high.' And see BURY (p. 8).

WREST PARK.—Formerly Wrast; *Wraste hamlet* (1308), H.R.; *Wrast* (1307), Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edw. I. From *Wrast* as a personal name; A.S. *wræst*, noble, excellent.

51. REMARKS.

I add a few notes on some of the Norman spellings found in D.B. and in some of the other early records.

The vowel *e* has two or three values. It sometimes represents the A.S. *e*, as in *Dene*, Dean, for A.S. *denu*; sometimes the A.S. *y*, as in *Melebroc* for *mylenbrēc*; and sometimes even

the A.S. *ea*, as in *Celgrave* from A.S. *cealc*. In one instance it represents the A.S. long *æ*, as in *Meldone* for *Mældun*, Maldon.

The vowel *o* is frequently used for the A.S. *u*, especially before *n*; as in the numerous names in *-tone*, for A.S. *tūn*.

The chief peculiarities of Anglo-French spelling are enumerated at the end of my Notes on English Etymology, p. 471.

I here notice some examples, numbering the cases as they are numbered there:—

1. Norman scribes sometimes dropped initial *h*; hence *Ametelle* in D.B. for *Amet-helle*, Amptill; *Clopelle* in D.B. for *Clop-helle*, Clophill; *Wadelle* in D.B. for *Wad-helle*, Odell.

2. They wrote *s* for *sh*; as in *Sernebroc*, Sharnbrook; *Sepford*, Shefford; sometimes even prefixing *E*, as in *Eselstone*, Shelton. In the middle of a word they wrote *ss*, as in *Bissopescot* for Bishopscoth or Biscot.

5. They often dropped *w* before *o*; hence Wootton appears in D.B. as *Otone*.

9. *Ght* was a difficult sound for them, as it represented the A.S. *ht*. They sometimes wrote *st* for it; as in *Lestone* in D.B. for Leighton.

10. Final *ld* was difficult. Hence *Cranfelle* in D.B. for A.S. *Cranfeld*, Cranfield.

12. Final *nd* sometimes became *n*. Hence *Chicesane* in D.B. for Chicksand.

13. They substituted *n* for *ng*. Hence *Goldentone* in D.B. for Goldington.

14. For final *t* they sometimes wrote *th*, which did not represent the E. *th* (as in *heath*) but a strongly pronounced *t* followed by an aspirate or slight splutter. Hence *Sethlindone* in D.B. for Shitlington. This remarkable form has *S* for *Sh* (see 2); *e* for A.S. *y* (see above); *th* for *t*; *n* for *ng* (see 13); and *o* for A.S. *u* (see above).

We may also note the use of *che* for *ke*, and *ce* for *che*, as in modern Italian. Hence D.B. has *Pechesdone* for *Pekesdone*, Pegsdon; *Rochestone* for *Rokesdone*, Roxton; *Achelei* for

Akelei, Oakley; and conversely, *Celgrave* for *Chelgrave*, Chalgrave.

CONCLUSION.

The chief point to be noted as to the place-names of Bedfordshire is their thoroughly English character. Traces of foreign influence are indeed slight.

The only traces of Latin influence occur in Streatley, Stratton, and Market Street as another name for Markyate. The words *mill* and *wick* are also ultimately of Latin origin; and the word *bishop* (in Biscott) is Greek. Of Celtic (exclusive of names applied to rivers) the only traces occur in Tempsford (from the river-name Thames); in Campton (if from the river-name Camel); in Luton, if the name of the Lea is of Celtic origin; and perhaps in the prefix of Gravenhurst. The word *down*, whence the suffix *-don*, was originally Celtic.

Of Scandinavian, the traces are likewise extremely slight. The most noticeable are the prefixes in Boln-hurst, Carl-ton, and Ting-rith; and the name Holme.

Of the times when the Saxons were still heathens, there seem to be traces in Sundon and Thurleigh; and certainly in Harrowden.

To the Normans we probably owe the original form of the prefixes in Meppershall, Moggerhanger and Stagsden; and the name of Sextons. Of Norman families there are several traces, as in the names of Eaton Bray, Houghton Conquest, Higham Gobion, Leighton Buzzard, Marston Morteyne, Milton Bryant, Milton Ernest, and Cockayne Hatley.

But nearly all the rest of the names are wholly English in regard of speech; and the speech, like that of Hunts., was that of the early Mercian Angles. And Bedfordshire is likewise certainly to be included among the counties which have helped to form the standard literary language of the British Empire and of the United States of America.

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THE RIOT
AT THE
GREAT GATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE
FEBRUARY 1610—11

BY
J. W. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A.
REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY, FORMERLY FELLOW
OF TRINITY COLLEGE



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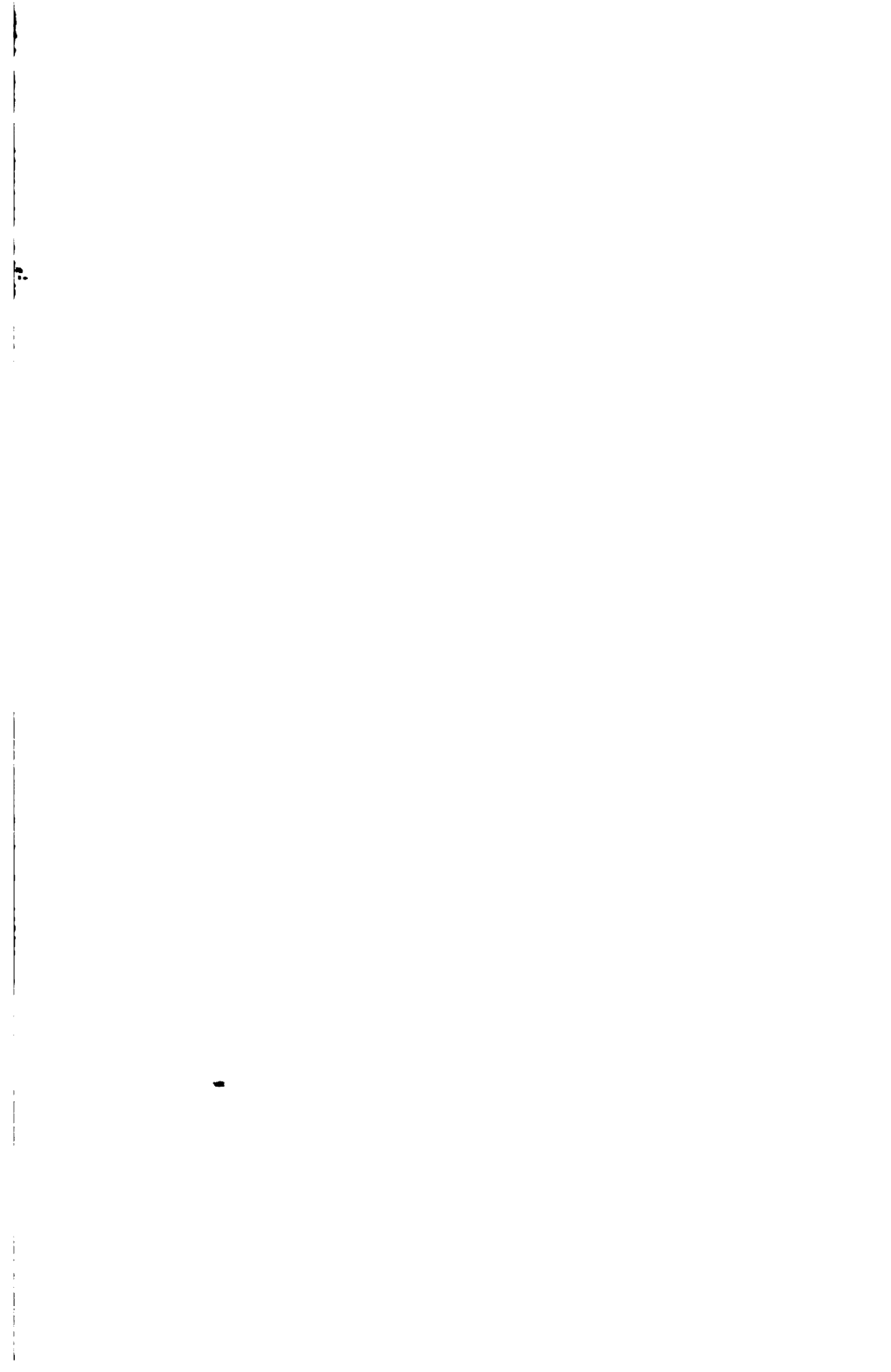
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No. XLIII

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INTRODUCTION.

1. THE MANUSCRIPT.

THE document here printed, called *A Byll of Complaynt exhibited by the Fellows and Schollers of S^t Ihons Colledge agaynst certayne iniuries and outrages committed agaynst them by the stagekeepers of Trinity Colledge att ther two last comedyes*, forms part of the *Acta Curiae*, or Records of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, a long series of which is preserved in the Registry of the University of Cambridge. The case was heard on 11 February, 1610-11, and following days, the Minutes of each day's proceedings being taken down by the Registry, James Tabor, M.A. of Corpus Christi College, who held that office from 1600 to 1645. Mr Tabor was one of the most accurate and painstaking officers that the University has ever had; but his period was not distinguished for good handwriting, and his own was one of the worst. Further, it is evident that in taking down these Minutes he was writing against time, while the witnesses were speaking; and, unfortunately, he did not make a fair copy of his record when the case was over. We find instead a curious medley of depositions properly attested, notes for future use in court, and lists of witnesses who could depose to particular points. Moreover, there are some remarkable repetitions. The case for S. John's College is stated twice, once at full length, and once in a brief summary; and even the sentence appears in two forms, one of which is much fuller than the other. Lastly, as though nothing

should be wanting to increase the difficulty of understanding the case correctly, our Registry did not write out his notes continuously, or on sheets of paper of the same size and substance, but occasionally used any fragment that came ready to his hand, as for instance the back of a piece already written on, which in one case was turned round, so that the bottom of the sheet became the top.

From these causes the task of editor has been one of extreme difficulty; and I should have been tempted to lay the document aside had I not received much valuable help both in deciphering the manuscript, and in arranging the different pieces in their proper order. I take this opportunity of thanking my clerk, Mr C. J. Stonebridge, who copied the manuscript in the first instance, and has since spared neither time nor labour in correcting and re-correcting his transcript; George Chawner, M.A., Fellow of King's College, who in the kindest manner placed his unrivalled knowledge of handwriting and of University history at my disposal; and, lastly, Dr G. F. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, who was so good as to collate our transcript with the original. Even now, notwithstanding all the care bestowed upon the work, I am sensible of numerous shortcomings, and I present it to students with much diffidence as a curious illustration of the manners of the University at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For such a purpose, minute accuracy in respect of the text is not so indispensable as it would be if we were dealing with a classic; but whatever is done at all ought to be done well, and I can assure my readers that no labour has been spared to interpret the hasty scrawl which Tabor committed to posterity. Not more than three or four words at most have beaten us completely.

In preparing the document for the press, I have been careful to preserve the exact spelling of proper names, the curious diversity of which will not fail to attract notice. For instance, Elborough appears as Elborow, Elborrough, Elborrogh, Elburrow. Most of these variations are entered in the *List of Names* which follows the Record of the Court, but others will be easily recognised by an attentive reader. In the above-

mentioned list I have done my best to identify all the members of the University; but, unfortunately, the registers of matriculations and degrees were carelessly kept at the end of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, so that about many persons no information is attainable.

The title "Sir," which I have always expanded, is the translation of the Latin word *Dominus*, which was applied to a Bachelor, just as Master (= *Magister*) was applied to the next higher degree; and, as William Cole, the antiquary, points out in a letter written to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 4 April, 1781¹, "the Christian name is never used in the University with the addition of *Sir*, but the Surname only... Yet, when Bachelors of Arts get into the country, it is quite the reverse; for then, whether curates, chaplains, vicars, or rectors, they are constantly stiled *Sir* or *Dominus*, prefixed to both their names, to distinguish them from Masters of Arts, or *Magister*."

Before concluding this section of my introduction, I must point out that, lengthy as the document is, it is obviously imperfect, for it contains only the case for the plaintiff, without any formal defence, and it is impossible to suppose that Trinity College would not have called witnesses to contradict, or at least to attenuate, the serious charges made against their stage-keepers, some of whom were Masters of Arts and Fellows of the House. As a matter of fact, only one witness (Dr Herne) defended the conduct of Trinity College.

2. THE OCCASION OF THE RIOT

The occasion was the representation of a comedy in the Hall of Trinity College; and the pretext was, in all probability, the difficulty of getting into the College and of finding seats in the Hall. But I am afraid that a careful study of the document before us reveals the unpleasant fact that at that time a bitter feeling existed between the two colleges, and that the men of Trinity College had made up their minds to make

¹ Reprinted in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 661. I have to thank Mr G. Chawner for this reference.

themselves exceedingly unpleasant to any men of S. John's College, and especially to certain named persons, should they venture to appear at the comedy.

The statutes which Queen Elizabeth gave to Trinity College (29 March 1559-60) directed that comedies or tragedies should be performed in the Hall either privately or publicly, during the twelve days of Christmas or soon afterwards, according to the pleasure of the Master and eight Senior Fellows. The whole subject of these collegiate representations, which were by no means confined to a single college—the names and subjects of the plays, which were usually written for the occasion—the names of the actors—and the technique of the performance, viz. how the actors were dressed—how the stage was arranged—how it was lighted—and how the obvious interference with the purposes for which college halls were built was got over—would require a volume instead of a paper; and in this place I shall not allude to any of these things, except incidentally, as they are referred to in the depositions of witnesses. I am sorry to say that I cannot even discover what plays were being performed in Trinity College on this occasion. Their names are not given in our document, and the Bursars' Accounts of Trinity College are equally silent¹.

It must be remembered that in the early years of the seventeenth century life in the University may have been studious—let us hope it was—but it must, unquestionably, have been dull. The games in fashion—tennis, bowls, and archery—appealed to the few rather than to the many; and undergraduates sighed in vain for some means of gratifying their animal spirits. Under these circumstances we can conceive that the annual performance of plays afforded a gratification of which we, in these days of incessant amusement, can form no idea. We do not know how tickets were obtained;

¹ A few notices of the performance of plays in College Halls are given in Willis and Clark: *Arch. Hist. of the University*, Vol. III., pp. 171, 173; and an elaborate article on the subject will be found in *The Retrospective Review*, Vol. XII. (1825), pp. 1-42. For a reference to this article I have to thank F. S. Boas, Esq., who, as Clark Lecturer in Trinity College (1904-5), selected some of these collegiate plays for the subject of his lectures.

but doubtless they were eagerly sought after, and a failure to procure one would cause bitter disappointment. There are indications that the excluded not unfrequently resorted to personal violence on those who had been more fortunate than themselves; and sometimes, as at King's College in 1606-7, broke the windows of the Hall, "with loud outcries and shoutings for the space of two hours together"; so as to be certain of destroying a pleasure which they could not share¹.

In the next place, who were the "Stagekeepers"? The name implies that they had something to do with the stage, and I thought at first that they probably were responsible for lighting it, as they are nearly always mentioned in connection with links—just as the yeomen of Queen Elizabeth's guard lighted the stage in King's College Chapel when a play was acted there before her in 1564. This, however, was clearly not the case, as we find them in the court, in the street, in short everywhere except in the hall. They were evidently what we should call stewards of the performance. Smartly dressed, so as to be easily recognised; sometimes armed, in case of resistance to their authority; they carried links to pilot the audience along the street and across the court, neither of which were artificially lighted in those days—and it must be remembered that the audience began to assemble at about five o'clock on a winter's evening. It was evidently part of their duty to come outside the gate of the College, and to do their best, like policemen, to keep order in the crowd—which, like a modern crowd, consisted mainly of idlers, who were gazing at those who had a right to enter, and doing their utmost to prevent them from reaching the gate.

3. THE SCENE OF THE RIOT.

The riot took place in front of the Great Gate of Trinity College, and in the street between that gate and S. John's College; but, as a good many changes have been effected since those days, it is essential, for the right comprehension of what

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. III., p. 24.

happened, to try to realise the appearance which the locality presented in February, 1610-11. For this purpose I have reproduced (fig. 1) a portion of Hamond's plan of Cambridge, drawn in 1592—that is to say, about 18 years before the curtain rises on our drama.

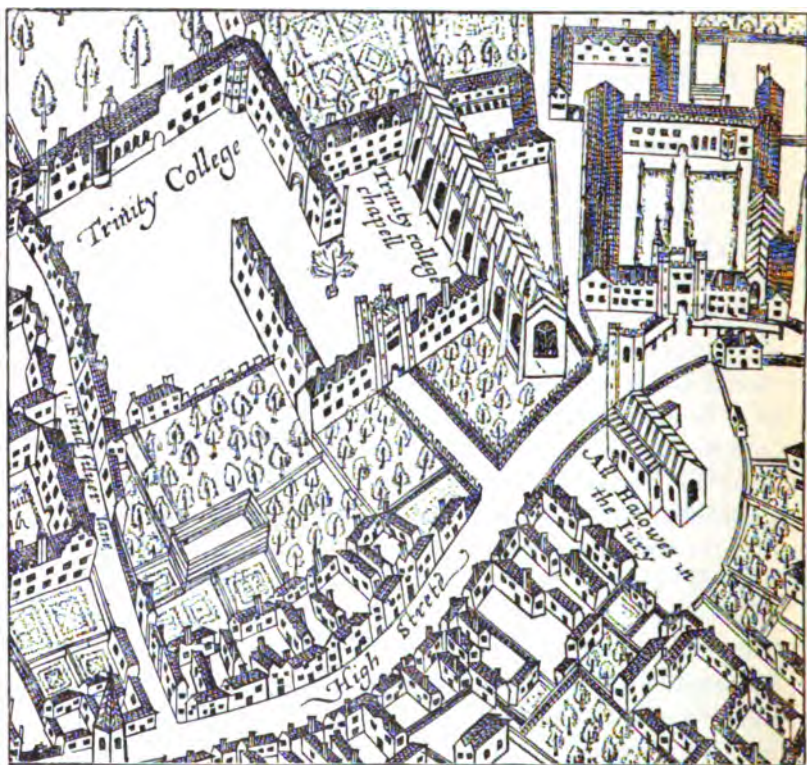


FIG. 1.

The Great Gate of Trinity College was approached by a paved passage, about 90 feet long by 30 feet wide, bounded by high parallel walls crowned with battlements and strengthened by buttresses at intervals. This passage, or "walk" as it is termed in our document, was prolonged eastwards so far as to leave the street between its eastern extremity and the gate of S. John's College very little wider than the other part of

Trinity Street (called *High Strete* on Hamond's plan) which led to Great S. Mary's Church. The ground between the north wall of this passage and the Chapel of Trinity College was laid out as a garden, attached to the rooms (occupied by a Fellow) on the first floor of the range between the Chapel and the Great Gate. A staircase led down to it from these rooms. Loggan's print, dated about 1690, shews this staircase, which was not destroyed until 1856, when the range was faced with stone under the direction of A. Salvin, architect. The ancient wall had been replaced by the existing iron railing in the previous year. When this was done the approach to the Great Gate was widened by about 5 ft., and a large strip of ground was added to Trinity Street at the same time; but, when Hamond's plan was drawn, the eastern wall of the garden, after passing the north-east corner of the Chapel, turned slightly to the west, and was carried up to the Great Gate of S. John's College, being interrupted only by an archway through which carts could pass to the kitchen and the walks. In front of the wall near the gate, and also in front of the college north of the gate, was a row of strong posts and rails, with a lofty post at the end of the row nearest to the gate—as was the custom at that time, before pavements for the comfort and safety of foot-passengers had been so much as thought of. These lofty posts, which bore the College Arms, painted and gilt, are well shewn in Loggan's view of the front of S. John's College. At Trinity College there were no posts, but Loggan shews a line of rails at a short distance from each of the walls which bounded the "walk." Hamond does not shew these, but as "Trin. Coll. rayles" are mentioned in our narrative (p. 34), they evidently existed at the time of the riot.

Opposite to the Great Gate of Trinity College stood the Sun Inn, one of the most important hostelrys in Cambridge; and on the north side of the Inn was the churchyard and church of All Saints. Hamond's plan shews the churchyard of its full size, before a strip had been cut off from its west side to provide space for a foot-pavement. This pavement passed under the tower of the church, which, in the year 1820, was pierced with an arch to admit it.

4. THE RIOT, FROM BEGINNING TO END.

Under this heading I propose to construct a detailed account of the events of the evening; and I will make it as lively as I can by the help of extracts from the depositions, some of which are extremely amusing. It is, however, impossible to record every touch which helps to make the picture complete and vivid, and I hope that those who take an interest in the subject will study the record for themselves.

The riot began, as such riots usually do, with the crowding of a large number of persons into a small space. The visitors approached the Great Gate of Trinity College in two streams, that which came up Trinity Street being the largest: "in a manner all that came to the Comedy both Masters of Arts and gentlemen strangers wer to passe thatt waye¹." On the other side, from S. John's College, though it is remarked "that the presse was soe greate," the number was far less. The stagekeepers at first did their best to maintain order, and apparently succeeded in keeping a path clear through the crowd up to the gate. On the Trinity Street side, say the Johnians, "they only wafted their clubs easily before them, and fairly entreated them (the bystanders)"; but on the other side "was noe such behaviour, but rude and barbarous usage of ther lynks and clubs." This partiality was so obvious that men of other colleges, as it was asserted, removed themselves from the side next to S. John's for fear "they should be abused," and crossed to the other side, "where they stood peaceably."

Further, it was affirmed by the Johnians that "the gates were shut at five of the clock, and divers Masters of Arts, Bachelors in Divinity, etc., of S. John's College were put from gate to gate and hardly suffered to enter; and, being in, were offered to be put out by stagekeepers and searched for weapons."

This being the state of affairs, a Bachelor of Arts of S. John's College, John Elborough, left his College about five p.m., on the first night of the play, after supper in Hall, and got as

¹ Complaint of S. John's College, p. 8.

far as the corner of Trinity College wall and rails next to S. John's College. There he was standing "with the rest of the company" of men of S. John's College, when "a stagekeeper apperelled in a light colour suyte of Saye, with a small lace of the same colour, coming towards him, dasht him with his lynke once or twise, which he endured" (p. 3). It transpired afterwards that this stagekeeper was Thomas Heath of Trinity, B.A. 1610.

Elborough further stated that "soone after by another stagekeeper he was cutt in the hand with a sworde," or as he said in his evidence, "he was wounded on his arme and hand by one of the stagekeepers with a naked sword. That stagekeeper that smote him wore a red coat with white lace, much after the forme of a horseman's coate, with a scarfe before his face¹." An eye-witness, Nicholas Auger of S. John's College, described what took place as follows:

"a stagekeeper, who was in a carsey sute, did smyte with a lyte lynke [i.e. a lighted link] over Sir Elsborrogh his heade, and then Sir Elborrogh houlding up his arm to hould of the torch dropping, that stagekeeper did hitt him a good blowe with his clubb upon his arme, and then Sir Oxley [i.e. Robert Oxley, Bachelor of Arts of S. John's College], stept forward and helped to rescue Sir Elborrogh, then other stagekeepers came to rescue that stagekeeper, and²—

a general engagement began, the witness might have added, and perhaps did, for a piece has been torn out of the manuscript at this point. Oxley, who had lent dresses to two or three stagekeepers, and therefore expected kind treatment from them, swore

"that he was at the first easily putt by, as he thinketh, by Mr Diliker [of Trinity College, M.A. 1609], whereupon Mr Diliker went away. Presently ther came another stagekeeper, and linkt him sore, striking him with the flame of his linke upon his hand; and stroke at his face, which lighted on his breast. This stagekeeper was in a white suyte almost covered with redd lace. Upon this ther came three or four more stagekeepers upon him, wherof one gave him a blow over the face with a clubb, which made his face black and blue divers dayes after.

¹ Evidence of John Elborough, No. 55, p. 32.

² Evidence of Nicholas Auger, No. 11, p. 18.

Then the said Sir Oxley confeseth that he caught a torch from one of the stagekeepers, striking with it, and broke the same into two peices, and threw it among the stagekeepers¹

and ran for dear life towards his own College. As he went he met with unexpected succour, for an undergraduate of his College, John Symonds,

"at the time that Sir Oxley was persegued by three or four stagekeepers, he, standinge in Allhalowes Churchyard, did take vpp a stone and threw [it] after the stagekeepers, which lyted between two of them, which he did to defend Sir Oxley;...that stone did lyte against Trinity garden wall, and he threw noe more but that; and but for that he beleiveth Sir Oxley had been felled, for uppon that they left persegwing Sir Oxley and came into the churchyarde to follow this deponent²."

Several witnesses agree that neither Elborough nor Oxley were armed³; and Paul Marchant of Jesus College swore that Oxley "was pursued by stagekeepers to St John's Rayles and beat with clubs on the head three or four times"; "where-upon," says Robert Slegg, constable of the parish of S. Sepulchre, "some schollers did cry out for Clubbs, and not long after there were many long clubs, and pieces of iron and cob-rakes brought into the street⁴."

Dr Heron⁵, of Trinity College, a Doctor in Divinity, and, as he was at least fifty years old, not likely to be led away by the excitement of the moment, deposed that Sir Elborrow's wound, which was shewn to him soon after it was inflicted, was not severe; and gave a different account, as might be expected, of the subsequent events. According to him

"he and one Sir Oxley, who was also by, wer very unrulye, and pressed forward against the stagekeepers, and would not by any good perswasion that he could use give back; wheruppon he, this examinant, willed the stagekeepers to give back even to the Colledge gates; and then presently the Clubbmen in great number followed and pressed after; and then

¹ Evidence of Robert Oxley, No. 56, p. 83. See also p. 15.

² Evidence of John Symonds, No. 20, p. 22. See also No. 48, p. 29.

³ For instance see evidence of Jeffry Allott, No. 18, p. 20; and of Marchant of Jesus College, No. 42, p. 23. What Marchant says is corroborated by Gerard Cutler, undergraduate of S. John's, No. 48, p. 29.

⁴ Evidence of Rob. Slegg, No. 5, p. 16.

⁵ Samuel Herne or Heron, B.A. 1578, M.A. 1582, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1595. See his evidence, No. 19, p. 21.

presently one Mr Johnson, President of S. John's, did come to putt them back, and did box some, and perswade others to goe backe, but they would in no weas be perswaded. Wheruppon he, this examinant, seeing stones throwen out Mr Tompson's garden, did bid them to leave throwing, which they presently did. The stones were thrown after that the Clubbmen came, and would not suffer the stagekeepers to keepe the walke, and cried out: 'Clubbs! Clubbs!' and, 'Brake downe there gates'; and the stones were thrown only to the corner of the walke to keepe the Clubbmen off the walke."

It is by no means easy to make out the sequence of events in this Homeric combat; each witness saw what passed under his own eyes and no more; and, as always happens on such occasions, neither spectators nor combatants kept any accurate account of time. One event, however, does emerge from the tangle of confused testimonies—the appearance of Mr Coote of Trinity College. He had been a Scholar of the House, and was a Master of Arts; but for this occasion he had donned a white freize jerkin, and held in one hand a sword, and in the other a dagger, and was acting as a stagekeeper.

The tumult which had begun with Elborough's rough treatment, and been continued by Oxley and others, had attracted the notice of the authorities, and by six o'clock the Vice-Chancellor, Fogg Newton, D.D., Provost of King's College, appeared upon the scene. He advanced along the street as far as the gate of S. John's College; and probably his presence, together with the efforts of their own President, and of Dr Richard Clayton of the same College, delayed the exit of the Johnnians. This moment, when there was a temporary lull in the tumult, was selected by the self-elected champion of Trinity College for the utterance of a defiant challenge. Advancing to the end of Trinity walk—that is the long passage before the gates—he reached the gate of the Sun Inn, or, as some said, the gate of All Saints Churchyard, and holding his dagger by the point, shouted out: "Where be these Johnnians? Is there none of the rogues will answer a man? Zounds, I will throw my dagger amongst them." These words he repeated once or twice, and, according to one witness, he was answered thus: "Yes, there are twenty scholars in St John's that dare answer you, but this is noe time to challenge, when others are troubled

to make peace." Another witness gives a very diverting conclusion to the defiance: "he [the witness] believeth that Mr Coote did not know that Mr Vice Chancellor was there; for after, when he saw Mr Vice Chancellor come up towards Trinity College, he did put the dagger under his arm to hide it¹."

The Vice-Chancellor, having done all in his power to keep order, went in to Trinity College, and after his departure the strife was resumed in a new fashion. About seven o'clock a fire of stones began from the top of the tower, as the upper storey of the Great Gate is called in the depositions, and from the garden (Mr Tompson's) on the right hand of the walk². Jeffry Allott swore that he "did see manye stones thrown downe from Trinitey Colledge tower...after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in³"; and a third witness "saw more than one hundred stones thrown from the Tower." These, however, were not the only missiles. Sir Vaughan (i.e. John Vaughan of S. John's College) was "verye sore hurt from the topp of the tower by a sworde throwen thence as he verily beleiveth. It was halfe an howre after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in⁴."

The Johnnians were evidently most anxious to prove that none of their men came out with clubs until provoked by the stone-throwing from the tower and the garden; and they were specially anxious about the latter, because, being accessible, which the tower was not, they made an attempt to capture it. It became the centre of the fray, as we shall see directly. Jeffry Allott, whose testimony has been quoted already,

"did see two or three stones thrown out the garden before he saw any clubbs come out [from] St John's Colledge, and himself was smitten with

¹ Evidence of Wm Twelves (Trin.), No. 6, p. 17. Compare with this the evidence of Fra. Vicars (Trin.), No. 4, p. 16, and that of Griffin Divall, No. 41, p. 28.

² Evidence of Rob. Slegg, No. 5, p. 17. Paul Thompson or Tomson, one of the Senior Fellows, was Senior Bursar in 1611-12, and in 1613-14. (The accounts for 1612-13 are lost.) In November, 1614, he was confined in Cambridge Castle, as a clipper of coin; but he was pardoned before his case came on for trial. Cooper, *Annals*, vol. III., p. 72.

³ Evidence of Jeffry Allott, No. 18, p. 20.

⁴ Evidence of Sir Vaughan, No. 40, p. 28.

the stone before he saw any clubbs come out or called for; it was presently after yt his master was gone into the comedy¹."

Edward Goodin said :

"There were manye schollers and others yt threw stones out the garden, but remembreth not he sawe any stones thrown out from the garden or from Trinity College tower till the clubbs came out²."

When the Johnnians came out with clubs they made a rush at the garden wall—probably at that part of it which was behind the Chapel, and therefore could not be seen from the Tower. A townsman named Myton or Mytton, armed with a long club, and Nicholas Jackson, porter of S. John's College³, similarly armed, succeeded in pulling part of the walls down. "The Porter also did helpe putt downe some of the walles; the scholler did most of the harme to the walles⁴," said George Heath. John Bowles, a carpenter, said "that the partyes that were in the garden did looke over the garden wall, and throwe downe stones; and then the clubbmen strook at them, and divers threw stones over into the garden at them; and others, Myton with a longe clubb, did throwe down the battellments at the places where those in the garden did throwe down stones; and after they were down, Myton and Scholes and others did putt down the rest of the battlements⁵."

When the wall was down the materials were used as ammunition. This was testified to by Jackson, whose name has been mentioned already. He had been supping that night in S. John's College cellar "with a scholler bachelor yt attends in the buttry"; and on reaching the gate took up a club which he saw lying on the ground, and thus provided went to Trinity walk. On his way he was struck, "by Allhallows wall," by "a stagekeeper in whyte harnessse." The most im-

¹ Evidence, No. 18, p. 21. See also the evidence of Isaac Wood, undergraduate of Christ's College, No. 17, p. 20.

² Evidence, No. 29, p. 24.

³ See his evidence, No. 49, p. 30.

⁴ Evidence of Geo. Heath, No. 30, p. 24.

⁵ Evidence, No. 32 A, p. 25. See especially that of John Symonds, No. 32 B, p. 25.

portant part of his evidence for my purpose is the concluding paragraph :

"A scholler of St John's, as he thinketh, was the fyrst that began to throwe down the walls; for that he was smyten with a stone of the wall and his head broken; and theruppon he begane the throwinge of stones of the College wall; he did assaye to putt down the wall but could not; but Myton and divers other schollers did throwe downe the walls¹."

The attack on the garden appears to have decided the fray in favour of S. John's. It may be conjectured that those of Trinity College who were directing the fire from the tower were afraid of hitting their own men, or perhaps, for a few minutes, they ran short of ammunition, more of which, as we shall see, was presently brought. Whatever was the cause

"the stagekeepers were beaten into the college gates with longe clubbs, and one Higle with a sworde came out, and cut one with a longe clubb [but] without cloke or gowne, and then Mr Rone [i.e. Humphrey Roane, Master of Arts 1604] was felled by a clubb-man, and then the stagekeepers durst noe more come out the gates, but divers continued flynging of stones out the garden, or from the topp of the tower²."

The Johnnians complained further that, even if they succeeded in reaching the gate, they were not allowed to enter, "Mr Goldingham [one of the Fellows] keeping the key about him," and were "remaunded from gate to gate with much coarse and uncivill usage³." A few got into the court, but their experiences were even more disagreeable, notwithstanding the promise made by Dr Nevile, Master, "for the kynd usage of our scholars⁴." Sir Mason [B.A. 1609] "was lynked there... after he was kyndly had into the college by one Sir Chappell [a Fellow], by a stagekeeper that wore a green suyte with puffes, and another in a redd suyte did putt him backe and lynke him from the Hall Dour to the gate⁵." Mr Layfield of S. John's [Master of Arts 1610] got as far as the Hall door and "was putt

¹ Evidence of Nicholas Jackson, No. 49, p. 80.

² Evidence of John Symonds, No. 32 B, p. 25.

³ See D, § 14, p. 6.

⁴ See A, § 4, p. 2.

⁵ Evidence, No. 12, p. 19.

by by a stagekeeper in a rugg gowne and a steele cap, whom they say was a Master of Arts and Fellow, down the stayres, and not suffered to enter." Mr Layfield's dramatic enthusiasm got the better of his prudence, for he made another attempt to get in, and succeeded; but, falling into conversation with a stagekeeper, he was asked of what college he was, and when he said of S. John's, the stagekeeper exclaimed: "What the devell do you here? What reason have you, being of St John's, to offer to come in? and so did lynk him and thrust him down¹." On the same night Mr Williams, a Master of Arts of S. John's College of five years' standing, succeeded with difficulty in getting into Trinity College by the Caius Gate, i.e. what we now call the Queen's Gate; and when he was in, Mr Stanhope, one of the Fellows, "did saye and swere that he did wonder that any St John's College man would be soe impudent as to come in²"; and Sir Dawson of S. John's (B.A. 1609) was linked out of the College by Nevill senior, an undergraduate and stagekeeper³.

"What great events from little causes spring!" says the poet; and, so far as I can make out, the sole cause of this unseemly riot was dislike of two Johnnians named Cooper. Francis Cooper was a Bachelor of Arts of 1608, and subsequently, in 1620, became a Bachelor of Divinity; Henry Cooper was a Bachelor of Arts of 1610. The depositions are full of warning to these two gentlemen not to come to the plays. For instance, Mr Wilkinson of Trinity (M.A. 1609), dining with Dawson and Hutton, two Bachelors of Arts of S. John's College, desired Dawson to be the bearer of the following message:

"I would wish them that be Sir Couper's [i.e. Henry Cooper] frends to tell Sir Couper that yf he doe come to Trynitye Colledge, it were well that he were brought in by some frends, for in regarde of some private quarels he did feare otherwyse he would be abused⁴."

¹ Evidence of Tho. Layfield, No. 37, p. 27. Compare the treatment of Geoffrey Copley, No. 39, p. 28.

² Evidence of Mr Williams, No. 33, p. 26.

³ Evidence of Tho. Layfield, No. 37, p. 27, and of Geo. Ferne, No. 16, p. 20.

⁴ Evidence of Rob. Dawson, No. 8, p. 17.

In his own evidence Wilkinson made the same statement in rather different words:

"for yt he had heard that Sir Couper had wronged some of those he did thinke would be stagekeepers, he entreated them to tell Mr Couper yt for the love he bare unto him he would wish him [to] forbear comeinge there, for fere of beinge wronged¹."

The constable of Trinity Parish (Thomas Whaley) deposed to having overheard a conversation three weeks before, in the course of which some scholars of Trinity College had said:

"yf the Sir Coupers Johannis went to Trynity Colledge comedyes they should be beaten, because they were noted to have wronged Trynitye College men²";

and Sir Whaley of S. John's College, being seated by the fire in the Sun Inn, about a fortnight before the plays began, heard another scholar of Trinity say:

"yf the Sir Coopers came to Trynetye Colledge Comedies he would no be in ther cases for one hundred pounds, they would be soe beaten they would be neere spoiled³."

To this special dislike of the Messrs Cooper must be added a general ill-feeling against all Johnians. One Thomas Wilkinson of Trinity swore that he was asked in Halliwell the Barber's shop by a member of S. John's College "how the ladds of St John's should be used?" and that he answered "Well; for... the Master and Seniors had commanded that all should be well used and especially St John's men": but that the Johnian had said "It makes noe matter; our ladds have provided them great long clubbs⁴."

There was plenty of evidence forthcoming that ammunition, in the shape of stones, had been laid up for some time previously; but much of it was based on what people had been heard to say, and probably would not bear the test of cross-examination. For instance, Mrs Frisby, wife to John Frisby, an apothecary, who lived near the Sun Inn, opposite to Trinity

¹ Evidence of Mr Wilkinson, No. 10, p. 18.

² Evidence of Tho. Whaley, No. 14, p. 20.

³ Evidence of Wm. Whaley, No. 21, p. 22.

⁴ Evidence of Tho. Wilkinson, No. 1, p. 15.

College, told her neighbours that four scholars of that House, who came into her shop to buy tobacco,

"spake there of some provision of stones layd upp in the towers or garden or tharabout, and also of some buckets to be provyded to fetch water from the conduyte to powre downe upon St John's menne from the tower¹."

This vague expression "some provision" was improved by Agnes Barnes, maid servant to Andrew Goodwin, who had overheard Mrs Frisby talking to her neighbours, into "a load and a halfe²"; and Jane Hall swore that she had heard one of two scholars, passing by in the street, say: "Here will be old scuffling at this end of the towne within these three or foure nights; for we heare that ther are stones prepared to fling from the towers"—to which the other replied: "Those that they should hitt they would be paid home³." A further piece of hearsay evidence related that on Thursday morning—the day after the first night—Sir Ferne, a scholar of Trinity College, reported "that the foregoing night ther were six boyes which carryed upp stones in ther hatts to maynteyne them that threw from the towers⁴"; but, in answer to this, John Muncaster deposed that though he had seen "a great heape of stones" lying "on the backe syde of Trynitye Colledge in Garrett Ostell" before Christmas, and had subsequently missed the said heap, he was informed, on inquiry, "yt they were carryed unto Kings College to be ther paved out⁵."

5. THE COURT AND THE SENTENCE.

From very early times the authorities of the University were allowed to deal with offences committed by their own members—usually referred to as "clerks"—without interference from any external authority. Finally, Queen Elizabeth, in her letters patent dated 26 April, 1561, granted to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars (this is the phrase used),

¹ Bill of complaint, [A], No. 2, p. 2.

² Evidence of Agnes Barnes, No. 13, p. 20.

³ Evidence of Jane Hall, No. 31, p. 24.

⁴ Bill of complaint, [A], No. 8, p. 2.

⁵ Evidence of John Muncaster, No. 32, p. 24.

that they and their lieutenants for the time being may take cognisance before themselves of all and all manner of personal pleas, as well of debts, accounts, other contracts whatsoever, and wrongs, as of trespasses against the peace, and misprisions whatsoever...entered and done within the aforesaid town and its suburbs...where and whensoever any Master or Scholar or servant of a Scholar or common servant of the University shall be one of the parties.

And all and singular pleas and trespasses of this kind the aforesaid Chancellor and Scholars and their lieutenants and successors may hear hold and finally determine wheresoever they may choose within the town and its suburbs, and thereupon may do execution according to their laws and customs in use aforesaid; and that the court of the said Chancellor Masters and Scholars respecting such pleas and trespasses aforesaid may be a court of record...

And if any delinquent or defendant, or any delinquents or defendants, should be found guilty in any action, complaint, or trespass of this kind, to compel all and singular such delinquents, guilty persons, and defendants, to make satisfaction of all things wherein they were found guilty, or any one of them was found guilty, according to the laws and customs of the said University in use aforesaid, or according to the statutes of this Our realm of England now published or in future to be published¹.

In the Statutes given by the same Queen nine years afterwards (25 September, 1570) the Masters and Scholars are not mentioned, but the Chancellor alone is empowered "to hear and settle out of hand (*summariè*) all controversies affecting academic persons and their servants, without any solemnity of law except that which we shall prescribe, in accordance with civil law, and their own customs and privileges²." Evildoers are to be punished by suspension of their degrees, by imprisonment, or by some lighter punishment. In certain specified cases the Heads of Colleges are to be consulted, and the consent of a majority of that body is to be obtained—a provision which probably determined the constitution of the court until 1858, when the Chancellor's jurisdiction was subdivided as at present, one court dealing with the offences of those who are *in statu pupillari*, the other with those of persons who have proceeded to their first degree at least.

¹ *Letters Patent of Elizabeth* [etc.]. Ed. J. W. Clark. 8vo. Camb. 1892, p. 8.

² *Comm. Doc.* i. 479. The passage here quoted is translated from the forty-second statute, *De cancellarii officio*. See also *Report of H.M.'s Commissioners*, 1852, p. 4.

It will be understood that in practice the Vice-Chancellor for the time being takes the place of the Chancellor; and that any provision in the Statutes affecting the Chancellor is equally binding upon the Vice-Chancellor.

We will next examine the constitution of the court which heard our case. When the proceedings began, 11 February, 1610-11, the Vice-Chancellor presided, with three assessors (p. 14), but he is not mentioned afterwards. By "three assessors" we are to understand, I suppose, that three Heads of Colleges were present.

From the two accounts of the sentence (pp. 35, 36), we gather that the Court was composed of the following nine persons :

William Branthwaite, D.D., Master of Gonville and Caius; Valentine Carey, D.D., Master of Christ's; Laurence Chaderton, D.D., Master of Emmanuel; John Duport, D.D., Master of Jesus; Dr Hill (perhaps Samuel Hill of Trinity, D.D. 1608); Dr Ratcliff (perhaps Jeremiah Ratcliff of Trinity, D.D. 1588); John Richardson, D.D., Master of Peterhouse, afterwards Master of Trinity; Humphry Tyndall, D.D., President of Queens'; and, lastly, Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney Sussex.

Seven of these were Heads of Colleges; the remaining two, if my determination be correct, were Fellows of Trinity College, who would be summoned to watch a case in which they were so deeply interested. The Master, Dr Nevile, was not present, so far as we can tell.

The first form of the sentence (p. 35) which was signed by seven members of the Court including the two Fellows of Trinity, deals with the members of the University only. The date of the meeting has, unfortunately, not been preserved. As usual on those occasions, there was the party of mercy, or rather, of delay, represented by Dr Carey, Master of Christ's; and I agree with the theory that the line drawn across the signatures indicates that the other members of the Court came over to his opinion, namely, that execution of the sentence ought to be deferred until the names of all the delinquents had been discovered.

When we turn to the second form of the sentence (p. 36),

we find that the first paragraph only has the force of a binding document, the signatures being appended to it, and not to the end of the paper. The signatories are four of those who had signed the first form, namely Doctors Branthwaite, Carey, Duport, and Richardson, with the addition of Doctors Chatterton (Chaderton) and Ward. The new clause merely provides a more business-like method of estimating the value of the damage done.

Below the signatures are some notes, which introduce no new principle, but only develop the punishments agreed to at the previous meeting—unless indeed the committal to prison of those persons who had carried arms be regarded as a novelty. In the following paragraphs I have expanded the first sentence, and sorted its provisions under separate heads, incorporating therewith the second sentence, so far as it can be considered a gloss upon the first.

1. The cost of repairing all damaged walls and broken windows is to be estimated by two Senior Fellows of the two Colleges, and by two workmen, and the amount is to be refunded "by the berers of clubbs and throwers of stones."

2. Sir Heath (Tho. Heath, B.A. of Trinity College) who began the fray by assaulting Sir Elborough; Mr Coote (of Trinity College), who challenged the Johnians to fight with him; and Sir Symonds (John Symonds, B.A., Joh.), are all to be suspended, that is, suspended from the degree which they had already taken, and not allowed to proceed to any higher degree.

3. "Stone casters" are to be suspended if graduates; if non-graduates they are to be whipped.

4. Bachelors who had used clubs are to be suspended; but non-graduates who had used clubs are to be whipped, and they are not to proceed to any degree until the Vice-Chancellor give them leave.

5. Three stagekeepers who had been specially violent, namely the one who had assaulted Oxley and Elborough, and two others known only by their dress, are to be suspended, when identified.

6. Geo. Stanhope and Edw. Goldingham, both Fellows of Trinity College, and Coote, scholar, are to be censured by Dr Nevile. The two former had refused to allow Johnians to enter by the Great Gate, while the latter had challenged them to fight with him.

7. The conduct of Sir Rob. Oxley, B.A. (Joh.), is to be dealt with by the Master of S. John's College.

Lastly we come to a very important point, the way in which the townsmen who had taken part in the riot were dealt with. At the end of the paper is the following sentence :

Nicholas Jackson (Porter of S. John's College), John Parry, Fordam, Jarmin Warde, and Daniel Boyse were "to be committed to prison, and then to be brought out to the stage made at the bullring, and thereupon to be set in the stocks, with papers in text letters with these inscriptions," namely, their names at full length.

Jackson was the Porter of S. John's who threw down the battlements of the garden wall at Trinity; about Parry's misdeeds we know nothing; Fordam is mentioned as having supped on the first night with Jackson¹; Jarmin Warde was a townsman who said that he "was offered 40/6. to be stage-keeper at Trinity College²"; Daniel Boyse was stepson to Jarmin Warde, and a stagekeeper³.

We have no means of ascertaining whether this extremely severe sentence was ever carried out. As mentioned above, the only part of the document which can be taken seriously is the opening paragraph, with its six signatures. The rest may be merely notes of what was said at the meeting, when certain proposals were made and jotted down by the Registry for use on a subsequent occasion. There may have been a third meeting of which we know nothing.

¹ Evidence, No. 49, p. 80.

² Evidence, Nos. 23, 25, 28.

³ Evidence, No. 22. Boyse was a bookbinder. In the Univ. Accounts for 1616-17 we find: "Item to Daniell Boyse for binding the booke geiven to his Maiestie, xxiiij."

THE RECORD OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S COURT.

The MS. begins as follows:

FEB. 11TH 1610. A BYLL OF COMPLAYNT EXHIBITED BY THE FELLOWS AND SCHOLLERS OF ST JHONS COLLEDGE AGAYNST CERTAYNE INIURYES AND OUTRAGES COMMITTED AGAYNST THEM BY THE STAGEKEEPERS OF TRINITY COLLEDGE ATT THER TWO LAST COMEDYES.

Touching the first night we charge them with the Intention, the beginning and occasion, as also the execution, of the tumulte and disorder.

[A.] FIRST, THEY INTENDED ITT.

1. On Tuesday Carre, a scholler of Trinitye Colledge, puple vnto Mr Bartin, counselled his brother a student of our Colledge to beware he came not amongst the crowde the night followinge; wherof he gave this reason: That ther skulls, by the appoyntment of some of ther Fellowes, had gathered and layd vp in the towre as many stones as wold fill a large studye. Of this relation we desyre that Carre of St Jhons may be deposed.

2. The Goodwyfe Freisbien on Weddensday att night, when stagekeepers wer [abroad]¹, related vnto hir neyghbours that foure Schollers, more or lesse, of Trinity Colledge, coming

¹ Words inserted above the line by the original author of the MS., are included between square brackets.

into her shopp for Tobacco, att whatt tyme we certaynly [know not], spake ther of some provision of stones layd vpp in the towers or garden or therabout, and also of some buckets to be provyded to fetch water from the conduyte to powre downe vpon St Jhons menne from the towre. Of this we desyre that this goodwife Freisbyen may be deposed, and vpon oath requyred to speake, whether she heard any such words in her shopp or els wher; whether she knew or could guess att ye names of those Schollers; how many they wer in number, whatt quantitie of stones they spake of, what number of buckets also; and in what places they wer layd. If she deny this, then we desyre thatt Agnes Barnes maydeservaunt vnto Andrew Goodwyn may be deposed concerning this goodwyfe Freisbien, what words she overheard her speake vnto hir neyghbours; otherwise not.

3. Sir Ferne of Trinity Colledge, on Thursday morning, being in moother Benn's howse betwixt tenne and eleven of ye clocke, reported thatt the foregoing night ther wer six boyes which carryed vpp stones in ther hatts to maynteyne them that threw from the towres. Of this we desyre thatt the deposition taken yesterday may be read.

4. Thatt notwithstandinge the [kynd] promise made by Mr Deane of Canterbury¹ for y^e kynd vsage of our Schollers, yett they intended to revenge certayne private quarrells vppon some persons. Of this we desyre Mr Wilkinson of Trinity Colledge should be sworne whether on Weddensday he wished Sir Dawson to forewarne Sir Cooper from cumming to ther comedy, bycause, yf he came, he shold be abvsed. We desyre also yt Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton may be deposed whether they heard Mr Wilkinson vse theese words.

[B.] THEY WER THE OCCASION AND BEGINING OF THE
TUMULTE.

[a] *In generall behaviour towards our Colledge.*

5. We charge them thatt they did not dash any lynks on them which stood on the other syde towards St Maryes (not-

¹ Dr Tho. Neville, Master of Trinity College.

withstanding in a manner all yt came to ye Comedy both Masters of Arts and gentlemen straungers wer to passe thatt waye); thatt they only waisted ther clubbs¹ easily before them, and fayrly entreated them. Butt on this syde, towards our Colledge, was noe such behaviour, but rude and barbarous vsage of ther lynks and clubbs. Of this we desyre Sir Augur of St Jhons shold be deposed. Also we produce Sir Marchante of Jesus Colledge, whom we desyre vpon oath to be examined, whether he did not perceyve any such kynd of dealinge as we accuse them of; whether he did not thervpon advise some of his owne colledge to departe from that syde wher they stooode, least being mistaken for St Jhons menne, they shold be abvsed, and both he and they vpon that motion remooved to the other syde wher they stood peacably; whether he knew any other St Jhons menne in sight of the stagekeepers besydes theese two Sir Elborow and Sir Oxlye; whether they wer not lynked more than any other; whether they stood not orderly, as other menne, before ther lynking; whether they stood not in the same ranke with others.

[b] *In particular.*

6. Sir Elborow about fyve of ye clocke, when supper was ended in our hall, went towards Trinity Colledge, wher standing in the foreranke without ther rayles, together with the rest of ye company, having noe weapon about him, a stagekeeper apparrelled in a light colour suyte of Saye with [a small] lace of ye same colour, coming towards him, dasht him with his lynke once or twise, which he endured. Soone after by another stagekeeper he was cutt in ye hand with a sworde; when this was done no clubbs wer come forth or called. Of this we desyre yt Mr Dor Herne may speake his knowledge, whether this playntife shewed any wovnd vnto him; whether he did not answer thatt he knew not how to helpe itt; whether att thatt tyme of his complaynt he sawe any clubbs stirring. Also we produce Sir Marchant †of† Jesus, whom we requyre to speak vpon oath whether he perceyved any occasion gyven by Sir Elborow or noe, of his lynking and striking; whether he

¹ MS., clubb.

saw or did beleive he had any weapon about him; whether he saw him speaking to D^r Herne. Also we produce in this poynt Sir Augur Johannis.

7. About or att the same tyme Sir Oxly, standing peacably by Sir Elborow expecting kyndnes from some stagekeepers vnto him (he had lent two or three stagekeepers suytes) was immediately vpon his first entrance¹, by a stagekeeper in a whyte suite guarded with redd lace having a headpeace on his head, sett vpon, who first thrust his clubb agaynst his breast, then lynked him in the face and e...¹ one twise or oftener; then, stepping backe, retourned presently with ...¹ other stagekeeper bearing² a torch not lighted and a clubb; both stroke¹ feirly at him. He, taking from them a torch, shifted for himselfe vntill, yt breaking, he fledd towards the Colledge pursued by three stagekeepers as farr allmost as Allhallowes Church; and by a fourth, thought generally to be Mr Roane, [nigh] vnto ye Colledge gates, all striking on him with ther clubbs and lynks as he fledd. Of this we desire Robert Slegge shold be deposed, and requyred first to answer whether he were sent for the last night vnto Mr Hall his chamber in Trinity Colledge, and whatt speach was vsd to him touching this buisines. Then we desyre he be [requyred] to speake his knowledge of this matter, whether he saw or did beleive that Sir Oxly had any weapon about him or noe, etc.

We produce agayne Sir Marchant, Jesus, Fowler and Cutler Johannis, all which we desyre may be lykewise deposed, whether any clubbs wer come forth or called for before this fact was done.

8. Thatt before any clubbs wer come forth many stones wer throwen, and diverse³ in yt company smitten and wowned therwith; which stones wer throwne from Mr Thompson's garden commonly soe called. Of this poynt we desyre the deposition taken yesterday may be read; and also thatt Jeffry Allot may be examined vpon oath to speake his knowledge;

¹ MS. imperfect here. A small strip of paper has been torn off.

² MS., bearer.

³ MS., diuise.

and also Wood of Christs Colledge be required vpon oath to speake whether he knew not yt a Scholler of Christs Colledge †was† [smoten] with a stone from this garden, before any clubbs wer come forth.

[C.] FOR THEY ALSO EXECUTED.

9. Sir Pratt of St Jhons standing by the Sunn gates, with his face agaynst Trinity Colledge, was smytten and sore wounded on the forehead with a stone thrown from the towre. Wittnes Sir Pagett, Caii.

10. Sir Vaughan also was greivously bruised on the head with a stone throwne from ye towre. Wittnes: Hilton, Christi; Smyth, Johan.

11. Thatt when Mr Vicechauncellour and D^{or} Cleyton wer pacifying the tumult risen, in thatt verry interim, notwithstanding the presence of both theese, Mr Coote did in chalinging wise vse theese or such lyke braving and provoking speeches: "Wher ar theese roaguish Jonnians? Is ther any of them thatt dares answer me." Of this we desyre thatt William Twelves and Vicars be deposed whether they heard him vse any such speeches, and whether, when he vsed them, he had a drawne sword in his hande. We produce also Gryffith Dyvall.

12. Thatt Mr Layfeild M^r of Arts was much wrongd att ther hall dore by a stagekeeper in a rugge gowne and a head-peace. Of this we desyre yt he may declare his iniuries, and Mr Metcalfe and Sir Dawson be deposed for prooffe.

13. Thatt Sir Dawson was lykewise wronge by 2 stagekeepers Sir Andrews and Nevill. For the fact Mr Layfeild and Mr Metcalfe canne depose. For ye persons Sir Ferne and Sir Bins of Trinitye. The first told Sir Dawson yt itt was Nevill, the seconde heard Nevill speake itt.

[D.] GREIVANCES AND ABVSES OFFERED YE SECOND NIGHT.

14. Thatt the Hall being almost filled with Masters of Arts of other Colledges and Schollers, and menne also of worse condicion, and this by ye meanes of privy gates and passages, yett the ordinary [way by ye] foregates was shutt vpp (Mr Goldingham keeping ye key about him), and the Masters of Arts of St Jhons †were† remaunded from gate to gate with much coarse¹ and vncivill vsage. We charge with this practise Mr Goldingham, Mr Stanhope, and others in company then, with them vnkown to vs. We produce in wittnes Mr Burnell, Cecill, Grace, Williams.

15. Thatt Sir Mason one of our Fellows was by two of ye clock in the afternoone forbydden the Colledge by Mr Goldingham, and threatned, yf he shold adventure to see ther comedy. Thatt he was nevertheless brought into ye comedy by a stagekeeper, and ther wrongd. We desyre he may declare how vpon his oath, and by whom, as neere as he canne. Mr Horsmander Johan: canne wittnes some parte of this wronge.

16. Thatt Sir Osburne standing peacably amongst ye companye was carryed by a stagekeeper to ye gate, wher another stagekeeper lynked him backe, and in his returne he was felled to the grownde by a stagekeeper wearing a redd suyte laced downwards with whyte and a capp of harnes.

17. Thatt Baguly a Scholler of our Colledge, sent for by Mr Hall senior of ye Colledge, and abyding by his appoyntment within his chamber etc.; we desyre he may declare vpon oath, and bring wittnes, Pilgrim Johan.

18. Thatt during all ye tyme of y^{er} comedye stagekeepers walkt ther courte inquiring after St Jhons menne.

Thatt after ye comedy ended Sir Augur, going downe ther Hall stayre, was ther stroke vpon the backe with a clubb so violently yt itt was hard for him to keep his feet. We desyre he may declare and depose.

¹ MS., course.



[E.] WE INTREAT THAT TOUCHING THE [FURTHER] PROOF AND MANIFESTATION OF A QUARRELL INTENDED BY THEM OF TRINITY COLLEDGE THAT THEESE WITNESSES FOLLOWING MAY BE PRODUCED AND EXAMINED VPON OATH, VIZ.:

19. Sir Whaly Johannis. Whether about three weeks synce he being in presence with some Schollers of Trinity Colledge att the Signe of ye Sunne, did not heare it spoken by Schollers of Trinity Colledge: Thatt yf the two Sir Coopers came to ye comedyes they shold be nere kylled, or to the lyke effect; and whether he knew any of those schollers.

20. Jermyn Warde lodging att Lawsons the Barbars [house]. Whether he was not entreated to be a stagekeeper on Weddensday night; and whether ther was not an offer made to him of 40^s, or some other reward, yf he wold so doe. Also whether he doe not know or credibly beleive yt his sonne Boyse was stagekeeper ther, and in what suyte he was to his beleife.

If he deny itt, we desyre yt Sir Symonds, Johan, and Lawson ye Barbar¹, whether they heard him avouch such things. Also we produce Ethrington, Johan.

21. †John† Muncaster. Whether within this fortentight or therabout he did not see a good quantity of stones heaped vp together within Garret Hostle; and whether within two days before ye comedy [or therabouts] he did not see and perceyve those stones to be carryed awaye, and whether he know or have credibly heard whatt is become of them.

[22] We desyre thatt Smarte the Porter may be deposed and examined vpon oath, whether he was not att Mr Kempe his chamber in Trinity Colledge [soone after ther comedye]; whether he wer not brought thither by a wyle, and what this devise was; whether he wer not ther requyred to wittnes agaynst our colledge or some persons in, or belonging, or thought att thatt tyme to have some dependance of, our Colledge, viz.; whether they attempted not to perswade him yt he was in the company, and further to testifye and saye

¹ Words such as "may be examined" are here omitted.

thatt Jackson was hyred by some of our colledge agaynst this night. Also whether the sayd Smarte wer not sent from Mr Kemp his chamber vnto the porters lodge and ther deteyned 3 or 4 howres?

[23] We desyre lykewise yt Kinge ye porter may be deposed and requyred vpon oath to speake whether he wer not soone after ther comedye brought vnto Mr Kempe his chamber, or some other chamber in Trinity Colledge; and whether the sayd Kempe did not shew him an aungell, which aungell he sware to gyve him vpon condicion; also vpon whatt occasion and condicion he offered him this aungell.

[24] We desyre lykewise yt Goodwyf Archer of Ye Crowne may be deposed whether Warde of Trinity Colledge came not vnto Sir Cooper then in her house, and weeping confessed he had done him wronge, and withall intreated his helpe to excuse ye matter. Also whether she heard him say anything concerning his carrying vnto ye Deanes chamber, and whatt thatt was.

[F.] TOUCHINGE YE FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF YE BEGINNING OF THE TUMULTE BETWIXT THE STAGEKEEPERS AND SCHOLLERS OF ST JHONS.

[25] We desyre yt Sir Elborow may be deposed whether he did not see a sworde drawne by ye stagekeeper, and whether himselfe was not stroken and wounded in his hand and arme with a sworde by one of ye stagekeepers, and whatt suyte this stagekeeper wore as farr as he knoweth or beleiveth. Also whether this sworde was not drawne, and he stroken with itt (as is sayde), before such tyme as any clubbs came from our colledge.

[26] Lykewise we desyre thatt Shittleworth student of St Jhons may be requyred vpon oath to speake whether he was not stroke [and felled] to ye grownd by a stagekeeper before such tyme as any clubbs wer come forth.

[27] To this end we further desyre thatt Ekins of St Jhons may be deposed vpon theese interrogatoryes following, viz.:

Whether he wer present when the stagekeepers pursued Sir Oxly towards our colledge; whether att the same tyme while he was thus pursued other stagekeepers did not pursue divers Schollers towards Allhallows churchyard; whether he did not see this Shittleworth felled to the grownd by a stagekeeper; whether this stagekeeper did not weare a russett coate; also whether this Shittleworth when he was thus felled to ye grownde was not hard by ye Church wall. Also whether this pursuyte and the felling of this Shittleworth was not done before any clubbs came forth our colledge.

We next enter upon a brief recapitulation of the case for S. John's College, divided into heads as the previous Bill of Complaint was. It ends with some rough notes of witnesses to be examined on behalf of the college.

ST JOHNS.

[A.] THAT TRINITYE COLLEDGE INTENDED THE QUARRELL.

[1] Carr Johns deposeth his brother of Trynity bad him he should not come at the comedye for the stagekeepers wer Masters of Arts, and none but Masters of Arts should come in.

[2] Fresby his wyfe deposeth that she hard Jane Hall a semster saye the daye the first playe was yt Trinity Colledg menn made Pickeringe to laye a load of stones vppon Trinity Colledge Chappell, and this she tould her neighbours.

Barnes, Goodins mayd, deposeth Frysby his wyfe sayd to her neighbours that schollers of Trinitye Colledge sayed that a load and a halfe of stones was layed vppon Trinitye Tower to throw downe.

[B.] THAT TRINITYE BEGANN AND OCCASIONED THE QUARRELL.

[3] Mr Wilkinson deposeth he tould Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton, one the daye the fyrst comedye was, at Dinner, that he hard Sir Couper had wronged some of Trinitye, and bad them tell him he would wish him forbear comeinge there for feare of beinge wronged.

Sir Dawson, Sir Hutton depose the same.

[C.] THAT THEY OCCASIONED THE TUMULT BY LYNCKINGE ST JOHNS MEN, SIR ELBORROUGH, OXLEY, ETC.

[4] Sir Augur sayeth Sir Elborrough stood at the corner of Trynitye walþkþ by the post next St Johns, and a stage-keeper putt him of, but, because the presse beinge such he went not presently backe, a stagekeeper in a carsey suyte smote his torch over his hed, which Elborrough with his hande defendinge, was smyten with the stagekeepers clubb one his arme, which Sir Oxly seeinge stept forward and helped rescue him; then other stagekeepers came in, one of them havinge a torch which Sir Oxly snached awaye, and then Sir Elborrough was strooke, and the stagekeepers drew swords, but he saw noe man stroke with the sords; the stagekeepers, he sayeth, were more violent with those one St Johns syde then those one the other next St Marys; he sawe Sir Elborough give the stagekeepers noe occasion to misvse him. He sawe Sir Vaughan Johns hawe a clubb or staff ther, and Sir Osborne a longe clubb.

[5] Sir Marchant Jesu, He sawe Sir Elborrough lynct, who givinge back, Sir Oxly came neere him; who beinge also lynct would not stirr, wherevppon moore stagekeepers came and lynct them, and he sawe Sir Oxly with a torch layeing at the stagekeepers, but he was by the stagekeepers persewed to St Johns Rayles, and with there clubbs had 3 or 4 blowes in the chase. He sawe Sir Elborrough talk with D^r Herne, but whereabouts he knoweth not.

[6] Rob. Slegg deposeth Sir Oxley Johannis stood peaceably close to the post of Trinitye next St Johns gate, and a stage-keeper with his clubb did easely putt him of, but he yelded not but verye littell; then others lyncked him; wherevppon Sir Oxly stirred not, but did mutter, and talke to the stagekeepers. Then 2 or 3 stagekeepers layed at him with lynkes, and then he gave backe, and watchinge his tyme snacht a torch from one of them, and layed about with it at the stagekeepers,

but they beate him awaye, and then they cryed Clubb†s† etc., and not longe after menye longe clubbs, a peece of yron, a colerake, etc. weere out St Johns brought into the streete, and then the stoones begane to be throwen out Trinitye garden, and this he sayeth he confessed to Mr Hall Trinitatis.

[7] Sir Cuttler }
[8] Sir Fowler } agree with these.

[9] Wood Chr^{ti} was before the clubbs came smytten with a stone out Trinitye garden.

[10] Jeffery Allott likewyse with a bricke batt shewed in court.

[11] Hilton Chr^{ti} and Smyth Johannis depose Sir Vaughan was hurte with a stone from Trinitye Coll. they beleive y^e Tower.

[12] Smyth (Johannis) sawe Sir Osburne lynckt by a stagekeeper.

[13] Twelves, Vicars, Divall, depose yt whyle Mr Vice-chancellor was at St Johns gate pacyfinge the tumult, etc. Mr Coote stagekeeper did come to the walks ende, and braved, callinge and sayeing, "Wher be these Jonians? will any fight with me?" having then a naked dager in his hand.

[14] Vicars sayeth sworde and dagger.

[15] Mr Metcalfe and Sir Dawson depose they see Mr Layfeild Johannis putt downe the stayers at Trinitye Hall doore by the stagekeepers.

[16] Sir Dawson Johannis was lynckt out the Colledge. Proved.

[17] Divers Masters of Arts, Bachellers in Divinitye, etc. of St Johns College wronged; and the gates shutt at 5 of the clocke. Were putt from gate to gate and hardly suffered to enter; being in, offered to be putt out by stagekeepers, and searched for weapons. Proved.

[18] Bagley Johannis sent for to Mr Halls chamber was fecht downe and lynckt by stagekeepers.

[19] That Jarmin Warde [a townesman] reported in Lawsons shopp he might have had x^l to be stagekeeper at Trynitye College. Proved.

But Jarmyn denyeth it.

The following notes occur on a sheet of paper at the end of the whole document. The numbers are those of the depositions.

For the beginnunge of the Quarrell :

Rob. Slegg	5
Sir Augur	11
Sir Marchant	42
Cutler Fowler	43, 44
Sir Elborough	55
Sir Oxley	56
Mr Dillacre	3
Sir Linge	4
Sir Aldred	5
Tho. Whaley	9
Rob. Slegg	10

The throwing stones before clubbs came:

Winscall sawe 2 stones throwen out the garden.

Jeffery Allott saw 2 or 3 stones throwen out the garden
and †was† himself smitten before clubbs came.

Wood Chr.

The throwinge stones not till after clubbs came :

Rob. Slegg 5

Dr Herne 19

E. Goodin

Bowles, Bettsons man in St Johns depos.

Tho. Whaley

Querie what koat Mr Goldingham wore ye first night.

The second stagekeeper yt lynkt Sir Oxely lykely to be Sir Heathe by his suit.

Examine Webster ye drawer at Tilletts about Sir Oxelyes deposition.

. A note of the names of such persons as we desyre to be brought into the courte and examined on our behalfe:

Mr Dilaker	co ¹	} Trinitatis
Mr Kennston	co	
Mr Stanhope	co	
Mr Goldingham	co	
Sir Aldred	co	
Sir Heath	co	
Sir Ferne	ab	
Nevill	co	
Carr	co	} is not at home
Mr Thompson		
Mr Coote	co	
Sir Andrews	co	

Sir Marchant of Jesus Coll.

Wood } Chris^u co v^u²
 Hilton }

Sir Pagett Caii non co

Robert Slegge	} personaliter ³ comparuit perquisitus ⁴ comparuit dwelling in ye towne co [†] mparuit [†] personaliter [†] comparuit [†]
William Twelves	
Vicars	
Friesbien his wyfe	
Muncaster	†do [†] †do [†] v ^u

Archer of ye Crowne personaliter v^u

Not examined.

The following memoranda are written on the back of the foregoing document: "A note of the names of such persons," etc.

Searl use†d† the coate in black	{ Sir Symons 5°
Burton Johis a	{ Brett 6° Sir Warr 6° Heath
barre of yron	

¹ The words *co* and *ab* after a name signify *comparuit* and *abfuit*.

² The witness is bound in the sum of £5 to appear to give evidence. The amount of the bail is only added to names of members of the University in two cases out of sixteen; and to names of townsfolk in two cases out of six.

³ *Personaliter*, i.e. *monitus*; when the beadle saw the witness wanted and spoke with him in person.

⁴ *Perquisitus*, probably means that the beadle has delivered the summons, but failed to see the witness personally.

Sir Osborne Johis supposed to have a { Sir Warr 6
clubb { Heath 6

Cowper a clubb { Archers wyfe sayeth† he confessed at
her house he had one,
and Parry sayeth he saw him have one.

Jackson had A Club Vicars conf † confitetur, confesses†
Jo. Parry

the bricks thrown down by Scholes and others { Woodrofe
quaere de quod Heath

Myton and Jackson & Scholes threw { Tho. Whaley
down the walls

Jo. Parry had a long clubb { Trott deposeth and
himself in maner confesseth

[PROCEEDINGS IN THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S COURT.]

xrº Februarii 1610 coram Domino Procancellario assessori-
bus tribus.

☞ Brookes of St Johns reported that yf there were not
good order taken and the scholers of St Johns well vsed there
would be such trouble as never was before.

Joh. Winscall, *famulus* Mri Synowes, *juratus*. He sayeth
he saw stones thrown out the garden of Trinitye; he sayeth he
saw a 100 stones at least throwne of Trynitye College Tower.

At Benes howse one Thursdaye about X or XI he hard one
Sir Ferne Trinitatis tell him at mother Benes howse and yt
there weere halfe a dozen boys that by hatfulls did bring vp
stones to the Tower to mayntayne them the throwers; he did
see 2 stones throwen out the garden corner before any clubbs
came out or wer called for, he cannot saye that any stones wer
layed vpp before of purpose to throwe out. Robertus Brooks
Johis ☞ *vt supra* he.

Cotton Trinitatis. It was tould vnto Mr Wilkinson by ...¹
that except St Johns men were well vsed, there were longe
clubs provided.

Thomas Smyth Master of Arts is charged the first night to
see to the first playe with a sworde vnder his gowne.

¹ The name is omitted in the MS.

Tho. Smyth, Mr of Arts. He sayeth that he had noe sworde, raper, dagger, sceyne, hanger, nor clubb.

Mr Scarlett, Mr Dillacre. This. At the ende of the rayles about 5 of the clock he did put back gently, then by a littell more roughly, because he mumbled.

Sir Oxley did take away a [torch] out of Mr Dillacre his hande being a stagekeeper, and did strike him and lye at him and strike him about the shoulders and hed; and being stroke he sayeth that thervppon he putt him backe and stroke at him with his clubb and did hitt him about the arm; and then Oxley, as he taketh it, did cry out "Clubbs"; and thervppon he did goe in and tell Mr Rone of what was done, and then Mr Rone went out with his short clubb and torch, and then at the end of there rayles one did darte a clubb in his face whervppon he followed that partye downe towards St Johns gates, and presently returned backe agayne, and at his return he did see a great number of St Johns to yssewe out the gates with longe clubbs, whervppon Mr Rone did goe to the President then beinge there present, and did intreate him to perswade with those that came out that they would return lest there were some greater disorder.

THE EXAMINATION OF ST JHONS WITNESSES.

1. Tho. Wilkinson Trinitatis, *Juratus*. He being in Copers one Tuysdye or Wendesdye before the playes, Mr Sherrocke Johis, he did aske him how the ladds of St Johns should be vsed; he tould him, "Well"; for the vicemaster for the master and senors [commanded], that all should be well vsed, [and especially St Johns men]; to whom he answered: "It makes noe matter; our ladds have provided them [great] long clubbs." This was spoken in Halliwell's the barbers shopp, there then being others by and present that he nowe knoweth not the names.

Th. Wilkinson.

2. Sir Cotton Trinitatis, *Juratus*. He sayeth that either in his owne chamber or going to his chamber Brooks coming to borrow a stagekeeper's suyte about St John's bottrye at

Twelfe tyde last past [herd] them say that your Colledge will keepe out ours from coming to your comedye; if they doe there wilbe as great a doe or stirre as ever was in the University.

Robert Cotton.

3. Georgius Archer examined. He sayeth that he stood leanyng agaynst the wall, and Sir Osborne stood by him at the corner of the [wall by ye] post of Trynitye College next St Johannis; and a stagekeeper in a reddish coulered suyte did come and beet a [light] lynke over his Sir Osborne's heade, whervppon the said Sir Osborne did depart.

George Archer.

4. Francis Vicars. Sayeth that he did see a stagekeeper [which was Mr Coote of Trynitye] the first night in a whyte fryse jerkin come out with a dager and sworde drawne; and, after Mr ViceChancelor was gone in to Trynitye College, and howlding the same vpp to those of St Johnes yt stoode with clubbs, sayeing this or the like in effect: "Where be these rogish cowards or Jonians; yf there be any of you yt dares aunswer me come forth"; to whom Gryff Divall aunswered: "Ther is them yt dare aunswer you." This was about 6 of the clock.

Frances Vickears.

5. Robert Slegg. Deposeth that Sir Oxley stood peaceably close to the post of Trynitye next to St John's gate, and a stagekeeper with his clubb did easely putt of the said Sir Oxley of St John's Colledge. Yet he yelded not, but very littell; then the stagekeeper lynked him, whervppon the said Sir Oxley [stered not, but] did mutter and talk to the stagekeepers. Whervppon 2 or 3 of the stagekeepers did laye at him with linkes, and then he did geve backe; and watching the tyme did snatch a torch from a stagekeeper, and with it he did strike and lay about at the stagekeepers, but, other helpe coming, divers stagekeepers did follow after Sir Oxley, and did beate¹ him awaye; whervppon some Schollers did crye out for Clubbs, and not long after ther wer manye long clubbs, and peices of yron

¹ The Registry has written "peate."

and colerakes brought in to the streete. He sayeth that ther wer stones throwne out the garden by some yt stood [above] the battelment presently vppon the cominge out of Clubbs out the Colledge; and about 7 of the clock he did see stones throwne of the Towre of Trynitye, and he sayeth he hath been sent for to Mr Hall's chamber, and ther hath confessed, and tould him as much as here he hath deposed.

By me Robert Slegge.

6. Willyam Twelves sayeth that he was in the street when as Mr Coote came out the colledge to the ende of Trinitye walk¹ before the Sone² gate [agaynst the church gate of Alhallows], houlding his dagger by the poynte, did saye "Wher be these Jonians? Is ther none of the rougues will answer a man? Zounds I will throwe my dagger amongst them," Mr ViceChancellor then being nere †St Johns† Colledge gate, but he beleiveth that †he did†³ not know yt Mr Vicechancellor was ther, for that after, when Mr Coote sawe Mr Vicechancellor come vpp towards Trynitye Colledge, he Mr Coote did put the dager vnder his arme to hyde it.

William Twelles.

7. Nicholas Carr, Johis. He sayeth that his brother of Trynitye did bid him one Tuysdaye night, before the comedye, that he should not come at the comedye, for the stagekeepers wer Masters of Arts and none but Masters of Arts would be suffered to come in.

Nicholas Carre.

8. Sir Dawson sayeth that Mr Wilkinson [about dinner tyme on Wednesdaye] did wishe him to tell Sir Couper: "I would wish them that be Sir Couper's frends to tell Sir Couper that⁴ yf he doe come to Trynitye Colledge †it were well †⁵

¹ The walk or entry between parallel walls which led from the street to the great gate.

² The Sun Inn in Trinity Street, opposite to Trinity College.

³ The words "being—not" are at the bottom of a page which is much damaged; and they are therefore somewhat uncertain.

⁴ After "that" the MS. adds: "he should not come to Trynitye Colledge if he did."

⁵ The sense requires the addition of some such words as these.

that he [wer brought in by]¹ some frends, for in regarde of some private quarell he did feare otherwyse he would be abvsed." He sayeth that he did see Mr Layfield the first night putt down a 2 or 3 stayrs at the hall door, and not suffered to enter.

Robert Dawson.

9. Sir Hutton sayeth that Mr Wilkinson did on the commencement daye wish him to bid Sir Couper not to come at the Comedyes except he were brought by some of his frends, for he feared in regarde of some wronge that he Couper had offered to some of Trynitye Colledge he would have some [hard measure] offered him ther, which words he verely beleiveth Mr Wilkinson did † vtter † out of his love he bare vnto Sir Couper.

Arthure Hutton.

10. Mr Wilkinson sayeth that Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton dyninge with him one the commencement daye, for yt he had heard that the said Sir Couper had wronged some of those he did thinke should be stagekeepers, he intreated them to tell Mr Couper yt for the love he bare vnto him he would wish him forbear comeinge there, for fere of beinge wronged.

Th. Wilkinson.

11. Sir Augur sayeth that he was by [at ye corner of ye wall by Trynitye Colledge post next St Johns] when as Sir Elborrogh was stricken, which was a stagekeeper with his clubb did putt him of, but, because the presse was soe greate, he could not goe backe suddenly, whervpon the stagekeeper, who was in a carsey suyte, did smyte with a lyte lynke over Sir Elborrogh his heade, and then Sir Elborrogh houlding vp his arm to hould of ye torch dropping, that stagekeeper did bitt him a good blowe with his clubb vpon his arme, and then Sir Oxly stept forward and helped to rescue Sir Elborrogh, then other stagekeepers came to rescue that stagekeeper, and one of them having a lyncke in his hande, Sir Oxley did snache it awaye ;

¹ The Registry had first written "came with some friends." He then drew his pen through "came," and wrote above the line "wer brought in by." I have adopted this second reading, and erased the word "with."

but, presently, after yt the sayd Sir Elborough was strook with the clubb, ther was swords drawne by the stagekeepers, but sawe noe man stroke with them; he sayeth that the stagekeepers were more violent with those on Saynt John's syde then those of the other, [for they putt these by easely, the others they did lyncke]. He sayeth that presently after yt Sir Oxly had stroke one blow with the torch, he saw Sir Vaughan there with a clubb or staffe, [and others; Sir Osborne had a long clubb]. He sayeth that he did not see Sir Elborough give the stage-keeper an occasion to misvse him.

Nicholas Augar.

ST JOHNS : WITNESSES.

12. Sir Mason was lynked there [the seconde night], after he was kyndly had into the Colledge by one Sir Chappell¹, by a stagekeeper yt wore a green suyte with puffes; and another in a redd suyte [did putt him backe and lynke him from the Hall Dour to the gate]. He sayeth that one Sir Aldred did weare the green suyte the night before with whyte lined puffs; and he was warned [by Mr Gouldingham] at two of the clock the 2 Daye², not to presume to [tarrye] within the gates, for yf he did it should be worse for him³.

Robt. Mason.

12A. Sir Osburne sayeth that a stagekeeper in a redd suyte and a steel capp did knock him down⁴.

13. Agnes Barnes sayeth that the first night of the playes at Trynitye Colledge in the eveninge, there being certayne neighbours of John Frysbyes Appothocarye standing vppon the said Frysbyes seat⁵, she harde the wyfe of the said John Frysby tell the said neighbours that there were Schollers of Trynite

¹ The Registry originally wrote: "had into the Colledge by one Chappell." He then drew his pen through the words "by one Chappell"; and wrote above the line "and at the Hall Dour one Sir Chappell would have been in his blowd."

² After "Daye," the Registry has written above the line: "and told him he should not see the comedye."

³ "be worse for him" is altered in the text into "repent it."

⁴ This evidence is not numbered in the MS. nor signed.

⁵ The scrawl interpreted "seat" may represent "selle," or "sille" = sill.

Colledge did report in her shopp that ther was a load and a halfe of stones layed vpon the topp of Trynitye Colledge Towre to throwe down.

Agnes Barnes¹.

14. Thomas Whaley *juratus deponit* that within these 2 or 3 dyes past he did here one Sir Wheley Johannis tell this Deponent that he was called in question, for that some Schollers of Trynite colledge tould him three weeks past that yf the Sir Coupers Johannis went to Trynitye Colledge comedyes they should be beaten, because they were noted to have wronged Trynitye Colledge men, or words to yt effect.

Thomas Whaley.

15. Robert Binns *juratus deponit* that the first night he did see Sir Nevill S. S. Trinitatis, as he beleiveth, for of his certyn knowledge he sayeth he canot depose, lynke one Sir Dawson Johannis in Trynitye Colledge courte; but wherfore he knoweth not.

Robert Bynnes.

16. George Ferne Trinitatis deposeth that he did heere Sir Binn tell him this examinant that Sir Dawson Johannis was lynked the fyrst night out the Colledge court by one stagekeeper that he Binns beleived was Sir Nevill senior, who was in † a † dark coulered horsmans coat and a hedpeece.

George Ferne.

17. I. Wood Chr^d he sayeth he was at Trynitye gates the night before the fyrst comedye began and befor St John's men came out with clubbs, and he sayeth that he stooode vnder Trynitye Colledge garden wall which is Mr Tompsons, and was smitten with a stone which came from Trynitye Colledge ward, but from what parte he doth not know; he also sayeth one Cally of Christ's Colledge was also smytten with a stone, but knoweth not from what place of Trynitye Colledge it came.

Isacke Wood.

18. Jeffry Allott sayeth the fyrst night of the Comedyes he was going after his master who went to the Comedye; and,

¹ Signed by the Registry to her mark, a vertical line between the two words.

being mydwaye vpp in Trynitye Colledge walke, a stagekeeper miscalled him, and strock at him with a clubb, and beet him backe, and after yt standing by agynst Trynitye Chappell by Allhallows church wall, he had a great bricke batt which † he † did bring into the Court. † This bricke batt † was thrown out Trynitye Garden, and did hitt him vpon the shoulder. He also did se manye stones thrown down from Trynitye Colledge Towre. This stone and the other were throwne after yt Mr Vicechancellor was gone in. He sayeth Sir Oxley and Sir Elborough had noe weapons when they wer smitten by stagekeepers.

Jefferye Allott sayeth that he did see 2 or 3 stones thrown [out the garden] before he saw any clubbs come out St Johns Colledge, and himself was smitten with the stone before he saw any Clubbs come out or called for; it was presently after yt his master was gone into ye comedye.

Jeffry Allott¹.

19. Mr Dr Herne he sayeth that about five of the clock the fyrst night Sir Elborough, [as he taketh his name to be], did come vnto him, and shewe him a littell strooke which bled vppon the backe of his hands, which he tould him the stagekeepers gave him, and this examinant tould him that yf he would shew him the partye that had hurt him he should have amenns made him; but then he, and one Sir Oxley who was also by, wer very vnruley, and pressed forward agaynst the stagekeepers, and would not by any good perswasion that he could use give back; whervppon he this examinant willed the stagekeepers to give back even to the Colledge gates; and then presently the Clubbmen in great number followed and pressed after, and then presently one Mr Johnson, President of St Johns, did come to putt them back, and did box some, and perswade others to goe backe, but they would in noe weas be perswaded, whervppon he this examinant, seeing stones throwen out Mr Tompson's garden, did bid them to leave throwing, which they presently did. The stones were thrown after that the Clubbmen came, and would not suffer the stagekeepers to keepe the walke, and cryed out "Clubbs," "Clubbs,"

¹ Signed by the Registry.

and "Brake downe there gates"; and the stones were thrown only to the corner of the walke to keepe the clubbmen off the walke.

Sam. Heron.

20. John Symonds Johannis he sayeth that, because it was reported abroad that St Johannis men might goe peacably into Trynitye Colledge Comedyes, he went thither to see whether he might goe in or not, and standinge ther he did see Sir Elborough, who he sayeth stood quietlye there, lynckt by a stagekeeper, and at the tyme that Sir Oxley was persewed by three or four stagekeepers, he, standinge in Allhalowes Church yard, did take vpp a stone and threw after the stagekeepers, which lyted between two of †them†; which he did to defend Sir Oxley, who [himself] was being persewed by the stagekeepers; he sayeth that stone did lyte agaynst Trynitye Garden wall, and he threw noe more but that, and but for that he beleiveth Sir Oxley had been felled, for vppon that they left persewing Sir Oxley and came into the churchyarde to follow this deponent. He saw Jackson thrust at the wall with a clubb.

John Simonds.

21. Sir Whaley *juratus deponit* that Sir Bickly Petri and he, being together at the Sune by the fyer, about a fortnight before the Comedy, a Scholler of Trynetye Colledge, whom he knoweth not¹, being ther, he did hear the sayd Scholer saye that yf the Sir Coupers came to Trynetye Colledge Comedyes he would not be in ther cases for c^u, they would be soe beaten they would be neere spoyled, and "You St John's men look to your selves, for we are provided thre score stronge for you."

Sir Bickly sayeth that Winter of Trinitye Colledg said before the comedyes wer at the Sone that it wer best for Sir Couper of St Johns to keep out the Comedyes.

William Whaly.

22. Johnes Symonds *virtute juramenti deponit* that he beinge at Lawsons shopp one Mondye after the Comedys, as he

¹ A marginal note in the hand of the Registry records: This scholler is thought Winter.

remembreth, he did here Jarmin Warde tell this deponent yt his sone Danyell Boyse was stagekeeper at Trynitye College Comedyes¹.

23. Georgius Etherington *juratus* sayeth that at the Barber Lawson's shopp he heard Warde confess that he might have had xl^s to be stagekeeper at Trynitye College, and he refused to be stagekeeper because he was since this admitted a St John's man.

George Etherington.

24. Otbey John's he sayeth he sawe Sir Osborne John's lynked without Trynitye College gates, and did see a stagekeeper, but now he remembreth not what suyte he wore, synge him with a lyted² torch one his hatt, and it went out with the stroke; and then he did see him smyte him agayne with lynk agayne lyted³, and his clubb, soe violently that Sir Osborne [reled agaynst the wall]⁴. This was before the seconde night of the plays.

Tristram Otbye.

25. William Lawson *juratus* †*deponit*† that vppon Wednesdaye or Thursdye last past Jarmin Warde, being at his shopp, and Symonds and Etherington John's being ther, the said Warde did saye that he was offered xl^s to be stagekeeper at Trynitye Colledge, but otherwyse he canott depose.

William Lawsonsone.

26. Sir Heath sayeth he wore both nights a whitish cotton suyte with redd gards. The first night a hatt, the second a helmet.

Tho. Heath.

27. Sir Aldred both nights wore one suyte, viz.: a greene buckron cutt vpon whyte, and a blew capp.

Ben. Alured.

28. Jarmin Warde sayeth that beinge at the barber's shopp Lawson he sayed thus and noe otherwyse: "I would not have

¹ This evidence is not signed.

² MS., lyte.

³ In place of these words the Registry had written "fell to the ground."

beine a stagekeeper for xl^a and xl to"; but otherwyse he denyeth.

Jarmin Warde¹.

29. Edward Goodin *juratus* sayeth he sawe stooness thrown from both syds; viz., from Trynitye garden and from St John's syds; but knoweth none of there names, but knoweth some of them by sight. He sawe also, when the battellments were putt downe, Myton was one, and divers schollers [with clubbs]; he sawe Mr Rone smyte Purkis, and sayeth that he sawe him have a long clubb in his hande when he was smyten, or a very lettell before. There were manye schollers and others yt threw stones out the garden, but remembreth not he sawe any stones thrown [out from the garden or from Trynitye College tower] till the clubbs came out.

Ed. Goodwin.

30. George Heath sawe Myton and the porter of St Johns with clubbes, and he did see Jackson the toule gatherer's sonne [with a clubb, and fyte with it, and] throwe downe some part of the walls; and one scholler of St John's whome the Porter saw, the Porter also did helpe putt downe some of ye walles; the scholler did most of ye harme to ye walles; he is about the hayt of the Porter without a gowne.

Sig. Georgii Heath¹.

31. Jana Hall *jurata*. I heard 2 schollers passing by in the street say these or such words: "Heer wilbe ould scuffling at this end of the towne within these three or foure nights; for we heare that ther ar stones prepared to fling from the towers": and another made awnswer that: "Those that they should hitt they would be paid home."

She sath that she knoweth none of the said schollers.

Signed, Jane Hall¹.

32. Johannes Muncaster deposeth that before xptmas last past (the tyme he cannot otherwyse remember), he did see a great heape of stones lye one the backe syde of Trynitye College in Garrett Ostell; which heape of stones this deponent missinge

¹ Signed by the Registry to a mark.

about a fourteenight agoe, he did aske one Winge, paver at Trinity Colledge, what was become of the said heape of stones; who then tould this deponent yt they wer carryed vnto Kings College, to be ther paved out, and he sayeth he hath heard sye that one Wilkin¹ a carter carryed them.

Sig. Johis Muncaster².

32A. Johes Bowles Joyner *famulus* Bettson. He was before Trinitye College gate on the first night of the comedye, and did see before Mr Vicechancellor came stones thrown down both from the tower and chappell. He was there before the clubbs came out, and sayeth that he did not see any stones thrown [from the tower, chappell, or garden], before that the clubbs came out St John's³ [untill] that the clubbmen had beeten the stagekeepers into Trinitye gates; and sayeth that the partyes that were in the garden did looke over the garden wall, and throwe downe⁴; and then the clubbmen strook at them, and divers threw stones over into the garden at them; and others, Myton with †a† longe clubb, did throwe downe the battellments at the places where those in the garden did throwe down stones; and after they were down Myton and Scholes, and others, did putt down the rest of the battlements. He at the first beginning of them throwinge, did see Mr Tompson's man looke over the wall. Symonds was by him.

John Bowles.

32B. John Symonds, servant to King's College buttler. He sayeth yt Bowles was ther before he came; he came iust when as the clubbs came out St John's, and did see when as the stagekeepers were beaten into the college gates with longe clubbs, and one Higle with a sworde came out, and cut one with a longe clubb without cloke or gowne, and then Mr Rone was felled by a clubbman, and then the stagekeepers durst noe

¹ The Registry has drawn his pen through "one Wilkin."

² Signed by the Registry to a mark.

³ After "St John's" the Registry originally wrote, and then crossed out: "he also sayeth that the flinging of the stones out the garden began presently after."

⁴ After "throwe downe" the MS. reads "and the stones thrown."

more come out the gates, but divers continued flynging of stones out the garden, or from the topp of the tower. He saw some in black throwe down stones out the garden, and, as they looked over, St John's men with clubbs were nere to slye them. He sawe halfe a dosen of persons one after an other looking over the walls.

John Simonds.

33. Mr Willyams. Sayeth about 5 of the clock [the 2 night] he gott in¹ to the Colledge gates, but could not gett in, because one tould him and the other, that Mr Gouldingham had the key about him, and none could gett in; but Mr Gouldingham coming into the gatehouse, he denyed he had noe key; whervppon [seeing they could not there], he went about to Caius College gate², and ther were lett in, and after yt they wer in, one who he taketh it was Mr Stanopp, for soe he was called, did saye and swere that he did wonder that any St John's Colledge man would be soe impudent to come in, and did threton that they should not come in; whervppon he tould him he was a Master of Arts, and would not goe out; then he agayne swore that if he was a Master of Arts, where was his hood and habitt. Mr Whitgrave came to them and said he is a Master of Arts, and I know it; and then Mr Stanopp sayd he would search him for swords; for last night all St John's Masters of Arts had swords about them.

John Williams.

34. Mr Burnell sayeth that he was remanded from the fore gate to Keys College gate, and from there agayne they were putt by; and Mr Hoult and Mr Carill wer putt by with clubbs when as they offered to enter; [that Mr Carell with much adoe got in]; that at last they gott into the colledge, [whervppon Mr Hoult and this deponent came to the fore gate]. After they had attended about an hower, and when he gott in with much adoe, he did gett into the hall; and

¹ That is, Williams got into the "entry" or "walk," as it is called, which led up to the gate between high walls. He got through the crowd as far as the gate, but could not get into the College.

² The gate opposite Gonville and Caius College, now called The Queen's Gate.

after a whyle ther got a place; he also sayeth that he did observe they did wholly include this unkindnesse to St John's men. He went into the colledge about 5.

Laur. Burnell.

35. Mr Grace. He examined sayeth that the second night when as a stagekeeper [whom he thinketh to be Mr Stanopp] did take him in, he did lead him by the hand, and syed yf it were †not† you you should not come in; and this was at Caius Coll. back gate.

John Grace.

36. Mr Metcalfe sayeth †that† the first night he did see a stagekeeper in a rogg¹ gowne and a head peece put Mr Layfield downe two or 3 stayers at the hall door.

Robert Metcalfe.

37. Mr Layfeild sayeth that the first night he went to the Comedye, and at the Hall door above the stayers, [and being below the stagekeeper], he was putt by by a stagekeeper in a rugg gowne and a steele cap [whom they saye was a Master of Arts and fellow] down the stayers, and not sufered to enter; and afterwards talking with a stagekeeper, and telling^a him he was a Master of Arts, and had been sometyme of yt college, and he did invite him he might goe in, he asked him of what College he was; when he tould him of St Johns. Whervppon, he said to him ["What the devell doe you here]; what reason have you, being of St Johns, to offer to come in?" [and so did lynk him, and thrust him down. That] he did also see Sir Dawson then lynked out the College.

Thomas Layfeild.

38. Pilgrim sayeth that he did see Bayley Johannis the second night, when he came out of the colledge, much lynckt one his hatt and gowne; he saw Sir Osborne lynked; and did see a stagekeeper smyte him with a clubb, and made him rele agaynst the wall; but what apparell he wore he doeth not know.

Gualther Pylgrime.

¹ On a previous page this word is written "rugg." See also No. 37.

^a MS., tould.

39. Copley sayeth the 2 night he did see Bayley Johannis come out Mr Hall's chamber, and, being gone down, he heard a stagekeeper saye: "Yonder is Jonians." "Where be they?" said the other, and followed after him; who made hast towards the gates, but they overtooke him, and did lynke him. One of the stagekeepers was in a whyte suyte with a steele capp, the other in a reddish suyte.

Godfridus Copley.

40. Sir Vaughan *non juratus* sayeth that he was verye sore hurt from the topp of the tower by a sworde throwen thence as he verily beleiveth. It was halfe an hower after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in. Edward Good he sayeth can tell some of there names¹.

41. Gryffin Divall sayeth that Mr Coote, when as Dr Clayton was at Trynitye College gate, and Mr Vice Chancellor about St John's gate, Mr Coote then being in the open street, at the corner of the wall by Trynitye College great post next St John's, stood having a dagger at his back and a clubb [or cuggell] in his hande, did sye: "Where be these Jonians?" repeatinge it once or twyse; "Is there ever a Jonian will answer me tomorrow?" to whom this deponent syed, "Yes there is xx schollers in St John's that dare answer you; but this is noe tyme to challenge, when others are troubled to make peace"; but he knoweth not whither he did know that Mr Vice Chancellor was soe nigh; and he sayeth that Mr Coote did threaten him this examinant sayinge he would know him.

Gri. Dyual.

42. Sir Marchant sayeth that when as Sir Elborough was lynckt by the stagekeeper, Sir Elborough standinge at the end of the rayle, who going back but [presently after] the said Sir Oxley who was [come] near to him being also lynckt would not styrr, whervvpon divers stagekeepers did come and lynke them [he² thinketh yf yt Oxley had gone backe ther had bene

¹ This evidence is not signed.

² The general sense may be explained as follows: Marchant, being afraid if that [*i.e.* in case that] Oxley had given way to the stagekeeper there [at the end of the rayle], the Johnians generally would be set on by the stagekeepers, hit

no stirre], and this deponent made backe, and ran awaye, and before he could sett eye att them agayne Sir Oxley with a torch was laying about at the stagekeeper; but he was pursued by stagekeepers to St Johns Rayles [and beat with clubbs one the head 3 or 4 tymes], and after yt he was hiden, he sawe Sir Elborough talking with Dr Herne there, but knoweth not wherabouts, neither did he see any swords drawn before that tyme, nor noe clubbs. He perceived noe weepoon about Sir Elborough then.

Sir Marchand.

43. Cutler Johannis sayeth he did stand neer to Trynitye College walke, and neere to the chanell befor Trynitye College walk he did see a stagekeeper with his clubb thrust the said Sir Oxley [on the brest] oft, and he did not stirr; whervppon he did lyncke him, and other stagekeepers seeing he Sir Oxley would not sterr, did come and lynke him; he holding out his hand did catche a torch from a stagekeeper and brake it, and throw it awaye, and then three or 4 stagekeepers stept to him, and lynked him, and persewed him, smytyng him one the head and bodeye with ther clubbs 2 or 3 yards within St Johannis College rayles.

Ger. Cutler.

44. Fowler sayeth he did see Sir Oxley stand nere the chanell at the ende of the walk coming from Trynitye gates, and a stagekeeper did come to him and putt him backe with his club, but he only leaned back, and did not stirr, whervppon agayne that stagekeeper and other stagekeepers did lynke, and another stagekeeper coming to them did with a torch strike, *et quod utique deposuit vt* Buttler.

Richard Fowler.

45. Hilton Christ's he sayeth that the first night about 6 or 7 of the clock, when all the stagekeepers were gone in,

out at them, but did not throw any stone. Marchant then ran away. The Trinity men were no doubt anxious to prove that the Johnians began the stone-throwing, and one Johnian at all events confesses to throwing a stone very early. See Dep. 20 (p. 22).

he did see Sir Vaughan hurt with a stone of the Tower, and he saw 3 or 4 ther which threw stones down.

Samuell Hilton.

46. Smyth *juratus deponit* for Sir Vaughan *ut supra deposuit* Hilton. Sayeth he verely believeth the stone came from the tower; and it was when all the stagekeepers was gone in att the gates; and, for the matter of Sir Osborne, he sayeth that he did see a stagekeeper carye him to Trynitye College gate, and, when as he came at the gates, an other brought him back and lyncked him, and did with his club and lyncke strike him one the head, and settled him [agaynst the wall]. He sayeth the stagekeeper was in a reddish suyte and a headpeece one his heade.

William Smith.

47. Nathaniel Pagett sayeth that he sawe Sir Pratt Johns felled with a stone after the clubbs came out¹.

48. Mr Furtho *juratus* sayeth that there be 2 wayes into the garden, and that he kepp his owne key, and neither pupill or any other had it [nor could goe into garden or therby]; and he hath inquired for his owne pupills, and can [not] learn yt any of them wer there those nights. Mr Tompson hath an other key, and yf any passage were into the garden, by any stoneflyuers or others, then it was by Mr Tompsons door.

Tho. Fortho.

49. Nicholas Jackson *juratus deponit* that he beinge come out of St Johns seller from supper there with a scholler bachelor yt attends in the buttry; and ffordam did supp with him; and having suppt, and coming out to the gates, he did see divers schollers at the gates with clubbs, and noebodye badd him take a clubb. He sawe a [long] clubb lyinge on the grounde at St Johns Rayles, and took it vpp, and went with the clubb out to Trinitye walk, but before he took vpp the

¹ In the MS. Paget's deposition, which is unsigned, is succeeded by the following words, all in the Registry's hand: "Sir Symonds stood at there owne Rayles at the tyme Wilbey Mr Tompson's pupill. Mr Waterhowse Senr." Wilbey's evidence is given below, No. 51.

clubb he was stricken by Allhallows wall with a [stagekeeper] in whyte harnessse. Edward Rutisse was by Claxton's dore with a longe clubbe, when as a stagekeeper did with a naked sword pursewe vpp towards Cooper's, and ther hit him, and he sayeth that Myton¹ had a long clubb. Ther were divers schollers ther with longe clubbs whoe he knoweth by sight but †not by† name. A scholler of St Johns, as he thinketh, was the fyrst that began to throwe down the walls; for yt he was smyten with a stone of the wall, and his head broken, and thervppon he begane the throwinge of stones of the college wall; he did assaye to putt down the wall but could not, but Myton and divers other schollers did throwe downe the walls.

Nicho. Jackson².

50. Jo. Kinge deposeth that on 2 or three dayes after that the comedyes at Trynitye Colledge were past, he was sent for vnto Mr Kemp's chamber at Trinitye College, and being come thither Mr Kempe did shutt his dore to, [and then shrew†d†lye] examined this examinant whither yt he came at the sterr³ before ther gates at the Comedyes, and who he knew there, and such like questions, and Mr Kempe tould him he would give him an angell in silver or gould; but strove more to tell⁴ whoe were there, and what was done; but, because he knew none, he tould him he could not sye anye thinge.

Jhon King.

51. Mattheus Wilbey *pupillus* Mri Tompson. He sayeth that he was in his Tutor's chamber that night, when as the tumult at Trynitye gates [was], and did see that Freeman Mr Tompson's man was in the garden, but what he did there he knoweth not. He himself was not in the garden yt night, neither did he handle one stone, nor knowe any one yt had a stone there, or went into the garden; and he sayeth that he doeth not know of any stones that were provided in the garden,

¹ The Registry has added the following marginal note: "Purcas his daughter would marry Myton."

² Signed by the Registry to his mark.

³ That is: was present at the disturbance.

⁴ The object of his questions was to induce the witness to tell, etc.

and verely believeth there was noe provision of stones there made.

Matthew Wilby.

52. Dominus Couper sayeth that Sir Warde Trinitye came to him to Archer's¹, and cryed to him, and confessed he had done him wronge in saying that he should confesse that he Sir Couper had stricken a stagekeeper [who was in red with a sworde], and withall intreated him to tell him what he should saye, for he was sent for to [Mr Vice Chancellor to confess² his waes or be whipt or expelled³], and he knew not what to saye to Mr Vice Chancellor for he thought he should be set. There was Sir Vaughan had a clubb ther as he thinketh. Sir Sishton had a barre of yron which Burton as he did heare had of him.

Sir Tompson.

Sir Rowles with a clubb with crosse barr.

He had his clubb ther, but [whyle] ther stryvinge was he came not neere then [by xlth foote], nither did he vse it, but took it vpp [besyde the gates] and gave it to Sir Ellice of St Johns. He was not neere Mr Vice Chancellor when he was there. Had a knocke or blowe with a stone on the brest.

Henry Cooper.

53. Nathaniel Pagett Caii (*juratus*) sayeth that he stooode neere vnto the Sunne gates, when as Sir Pratt Johannis [who stooode by him] was strycken with a stone in the forehead, as he believeth out the garden. It was after the clubbs came out, for the clubbs were come out before he came there.

Nathaniel Paget.

54. Sir Tompson sayeth he was felled with a stone which was thrown out the garden as he thinketh; he confesseth that he had a clubb at the gates, when as Mr Vice Chancellor came out, but went in when he came to the gates.

20. Feb. 1610.

55. Dominus Joh. Elburrow *juratus et examinatus*. Saith that he saw a sword drawne [by a stagekeeper] before any clubbs

¹ At the Crown Inn.

² MS., confe.

³ MS., expel.

came forth, presently vpon the linking of Sir Oxly. Saith also that he was wounded on his arme and hand by one of the stagekeepers with a naked sword. That stagekeeper that smote him wore a red coate with white lace much after the forme of a horsman's coate, with a scarfe before his face.

John Elborowe.

56. Dominus Robt. Oxly *juratus et examinatus*. Saith that he was at the first [easily] putt by, as he thinketh, by Mr Diliker, and gave back; wherwpon Mr Diliker went awaye. Presently [ther] came another stagekeeper, and linkt him sore, striking him with the flame of his linke vpon his hand; and stroke at his face, which lighted on his brest. This stagekeeper was in a white suyte almost covered with redd lace. Vpon this ther came 3 or 4 more stagekeepers vpon him, wherof one gave him a blow over the face with a clubb, which made his face black and blue divers dayes after.

Then the said Sir Oxly confeseth that he caught a torch from one of the stagekeepers, striking with it, and broke the same into 2 peices, and threw it among the stagekeepers.

The said Robt Oxly the same night he came into the H^{all}†, all things being quiet, between the 4th and 5th Act, and ther within the skreen the same stagekeeper before described came vnto him againe, and lookt vpon † him, and then † went back and strock him ouer the shoulder with a clubb, and bad him begon, who awnswering "I am gone," and so went forth, the stagekeeper following [and linking] him to the hall dore. At the same time one Webster standing by and seing Sir Oxly linkt out said [vnto Sir Oxly the next day] that he saw him linkt out, and said that himself was linkt out by the same stagekeeper, who said that that stagekeeper's name was Sir Heath.

Rob. Oxley.

57. John Dody *juratus*. Saith that he came about 6 of the clock and saw divers clubbs abroad, and therupon as also perceiuing stones to be throwne from Trin. Coll. withdrew himself, and so departed.

the mark of
John Dody.

58. Leon. Shittleworth *juratus*. Saith that he being in the crowd beneath Trin. Coll. rayles at the same time the clubbs began to be called for and running away towards St Johns for feare of hurt, a stagekeeper overtaking him stroke him, in so much that he fell to the ground ; but who the stagekeeper was he knoweth not.

Leon. Shuttleworth.

59. John Ekins *Johannis juratus*. Saith that he [was] present when Sir Oxly was persued, and saw some stagekeepers following other schollers towards St Johns. Saith that he saw Shittleworth felled to the ground by a [little] stagekeeper which was in a russett horsman's coat, and he was felled beneath the gate [next Trinity Coll.] that leadeth into Allhallowes church yard neer vnto the church wall at the same time the clubbs were called for.

John Ekins.

The following notes, which evidently belong to this case, are written on a half-sheet in which the vouchers for 1596 were enclosed.

Sir Hauger (Augar) sayeth yt ye quarrell began between Agar and Sotheby and one Serle and Mr Coote of Trinity Colledge ; and Agar (Augar) sayeth he had noe weapon, but sayeth Mr Coote and Serle of Trinity College † had †.

Serle sayeth [he, Floyd, Dorrington and Mr Coote goeing] that Agar did toss his gowne vppon his shoulder, and did hitt Mr Cooke on his face, and soe Serle came back and did ask Ager if he wodd sleaye † him †, and he sayed noe.

Serle sayeth that he did strike him, but it was vppon a challenge. He sayeth that he and Floyd and Mr Coote being together [and coming home agayne] they mett with Sir Hauger (Augar) and 3 or 4 others of St John's ; and one of St Johns whose name he doth not knowe strook at him to strike vp his heeles, and fell in ye kenel himselfe. He sayeth that one of Trinity College ...¹

¹ The sentence is not finished.

Serle, Floyd, Dorrington, were all with hoods and in clookes in ye Towne and that they went out to see a playe as Serle sayeth that one Heele Johis hath threatened to box him.

Mr Turret did not strike as he himself sayeth.

[THE SENTENCE¹.]

Sir Heath *suspensus a gradu*.

The bachelors with clubbs to be suspended *a gradu*, and ech satisfied for ye wall and windows. Not bachelors to be whipped, and the degrees to be not till Mr (Mr Vicechancellor) lisenese.

Sir Oxleys fault and the stagekeepers falt to be respited till that they be knowen.

Drs Tyndale, Duport, Ratclyffe. Dr Richardson Dr Branthwait the bachelors and schollers to be punished for clubbs according to ther degrees. Dr Hill.

Dr Carey agreeth in the punishment but desyreth respitt of the punishment till both parties of both colleges maye be knowen.

The bachellors with longe clubbs to be suspended *a gradu*.

[*The line ending in a flower seems to indicate that the rest of the Court came over to Dr Carey's opinion that punishment ought to be respited till both parties of both colleges had been discovered; the line ending in an arrow indicates that Dr Carey assented to the opinion of the rest of the judges that "the bachellors with longe clubbs" were to have their degrees suspended.*]

¹ This Sentence (see opposite page) is written on the back (reversed) of p. 9 of the MS. It appears in a different form, with additions, on the next page.

[THE SENTENCE (in another form).]

February 25 1610¹.

For the damages of the walls and windows broken to be istimated by 2 seniors of both Colledges and 2 workmen, and to be repaired by the berers of clubbs and throwers of stones.

Dr^r Duport, Richardson, Branthwayte, Carey, Chatterton.
Dr Ward.

The stagekeeper in the light carsey his suyte and small lace; the stagekeeper in the red suyte and whyte lace and headpeece, and the other that did lincke Sir Oxley and Sir Elborough without iust cause, when they be found to be suspended.

The matters of Sir Oxley for the first quarrell and the snachinge the torch to be referred to the Master of St Johns.

The lyncking Sir Dawson by Nevell Senior, the abusinge of Mr Layfeild by the stagekeeper in the rugg gown and steel capp; Mr Coote for the challenge to be suspended degree, and satisfye the college, and not to be absolved(?) till that he have some mediators from St John's; *et postea comparuit et suspensus a gradu suscepto et suscipiendo* (etc.) *presente Magistro Coote.*

Mr Stannopp Mr Gouldingham Mr Coote referred to the censure of Dr Nevell. The stone casters to be suspended of degree yf graduates, yf noe whipped.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Francis ye Porter a longe clubb. | Myton ² |
| 2 Sir Maurice he confesseth a long
cudgell. | Jackson
Kinge |
| 3 Ds Tompson he had a clubb. | Fordham |
| 4 Ds Couper | Jo Parry |
| 5 Sir Rowles confesseth he had it, but
after the fight. | Ed Purkis
Hilton <i>non co</i> ³ |
| 6 Sir Palmer <i>fatetur.</i> | |

¹ The first line of these notes runs as follows: "P^d 18^d Marke Nitinghall juratus famulus Dⁱ Newton Procañ." This memorandum has nothing to do with the case.

² These seven names are written on a corner of the page with a line drawn round them.

Sir Randell a little clubb.

Sir Auger a rapier.

Sir Vaughan a short stick.

Sir Osborne a clubb.

Sir Elborrough a clubb confessest.

Sir Oxley a clubb confessest.

Brookes.

Sir Symonds to mend
the windowes¹.

Sir Symonds and all suspended *a gradu*.

Those with long clubbs to pay for the battelments mending and for the windowes there broken that night; those that bore weapons, and bachelors, to be suspended *a gradu*; those with the weapons there committed to the prison.

Nicholas Jackson, Porter

Jo Parry

Fordam

Jarmin Warde

Daniell Boyse

These to be comitted to prison
and there to remaine till Saturday
X of the clocke, and then to be
brought out to the stage to be made
at the bullring, and therevpon to
be sett in the stocks with papers
in text letters with these inscrip-
tions:

Nicholas Jackson

Jo Parry

Fordam

Jarmin Warde

Daniell Boyse

¹ The sentence on Symonds is written below the line which includes the above names, and is separated by a vertical line from the list of confessions to the left of it.

APPENDIX.

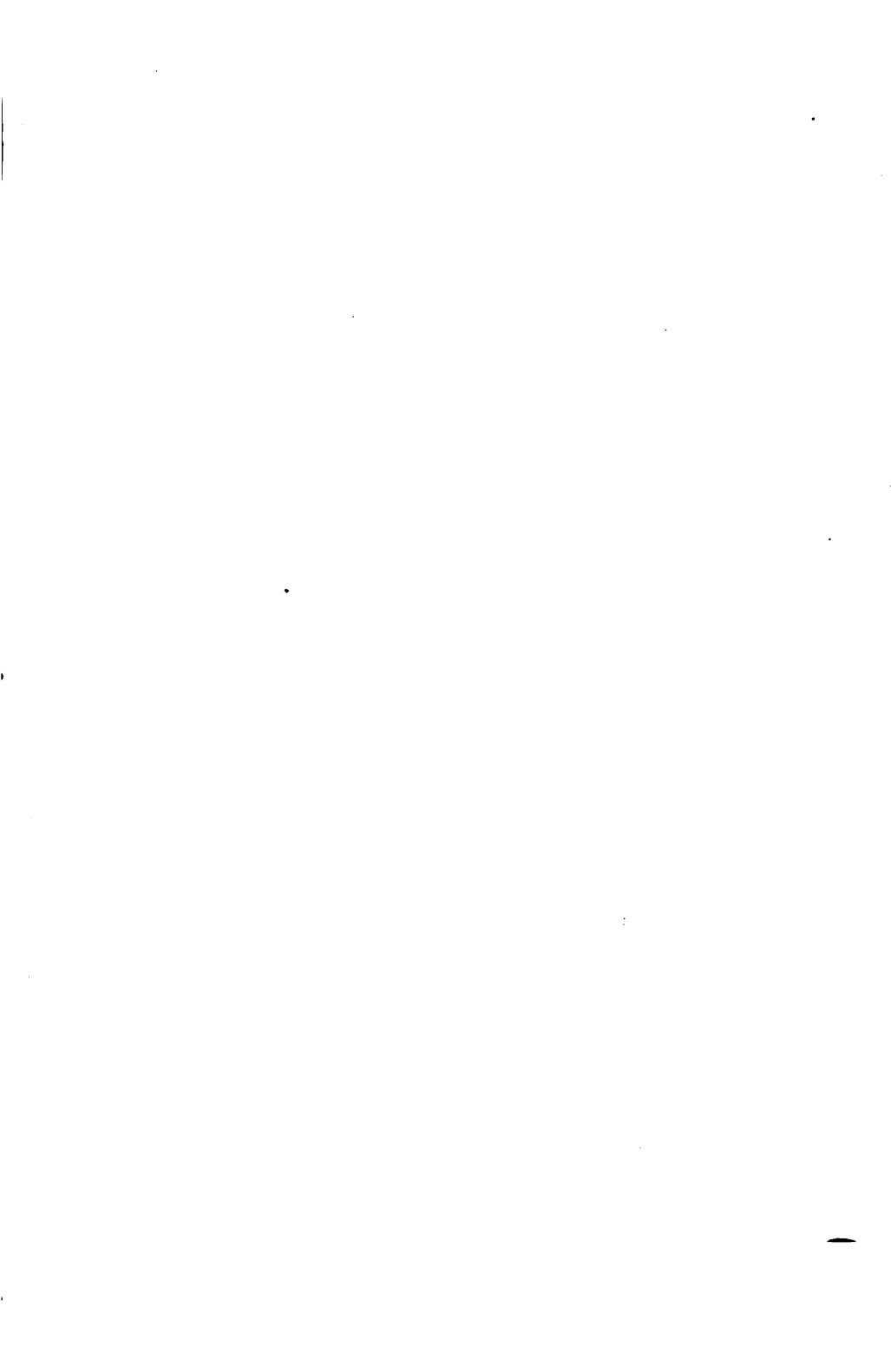
LIST OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE RECORD.

Aldred, Alured,	Benj.	Trin.	Matric. 3 July 1606; adm. Scholar 22 Apr. 1608; Minor Fellow, 1612
Allott, Allot,	Jeffry or Jefferye		servant
Andrews,	? Edw.	Trin.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612; stagekeeper
Archer,	Geo.		innkeeper (Crown Inn)
Archer,	(Goodwyfe) ...		wife to G. Archer
Augar, Hauger, Augur,	Agar, Nich. ...	Joh.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Baguly, Bagley,	Tho.	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1608; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Barnes,	Agnes.		maidservant to And. Goodwin
Bartin, Barton,	? Matth.	Trin.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1607; Tutor to John Carre
Bayley,	Tho.	Joh.	
Benna, Benes,	(Mother)		
Bettson,			
Bickly,	Tho.	Pet.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Binn, Binns, Bina, Bynnes, Rob.	John	Trin.	A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611
Bowles,	Daniell, Danyell		a carpenter
Boyse,			bookbinder, stepson to Jarmin Ward
Branthwait, } Branthwayt, }	Will.	Cla.	{ A.B. 1582; Emm. A.M. 1586, B.D. 1593, D.D. 1598; Master of Govy. and Cai. 1607-1619
Brett,			
Brookes,	Rob.	Joh.	? A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Burnell,	Laur.	Joh.	A.B. 1600, A.M. 1604, D.D. 1624
Burton,	? Edw.	Joh.	A.B. 1613
Cally,		Chr.	
Canterbury,	Deane of		see Nevile
Carey,	Valentine	Chr.	A.B. 1588; Joh. A.M. 1592; Chr. B.D. 1599, D.D. 1610. Master of Chr. 1609-1622
Carell, Carill,	Edw.	Trin.	Matric. 10 Apr. 1609, A.B. 1613
Carr, Carre,	John	Trin.	Mr Martin's pupil. Matric. 12 Apr. 1606
Carr, Carre,	Nich.	Joh.	
Cecill,	? Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1597, A.M. 1601, B.D. 1609
Chappell,	Joh.	Trin.	Scholar Apr. 12, 1605; A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611; Minor Fellow 1610, Major Fellow 1611
Chatterton, Chaderton, Laur.		Chr.	A.B. 1567, A.M. 1571, B.D. 1578; Emm. D.D. 1613; Master of Emm. 1584-1622
Claxton,			
Clayton, Cleyton,	Rich.	Joh.	A.M. 1579, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1592

Cooper, Coper, Couper, Fra.	Joh.	Matric. 4 July 1605; A.B. 1608, A.M. 1621, B.D. 1620
Cooper, Hen.	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606; A.B. 1610
Coote, Tho.	Trin.	Scholar 16 Apr. 1602; A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609, B.D. 1608; Minor Fellow 1608
Copley, Godfr.	Joh.	Matric. 9 July 1607; A.B. 1610, A.M. 1615
Cotton, Rob.	Trin.	A.B. 1610, A.M. 1614
Cutler, Cuttler, Gerard	Joh.	
Dauson, Dawson, Dawsonn, Rob.	Joh.	A.B. 1608
Dilaker, Dillacre, Diliker, Edin.	Trin.	A.B. 1605, Edw. A.M. 1609
Divall, Dyvall, Griffin		
Dody, John		
Dorrington, Rich.	Trin.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613
Duport, Jos.	Jes.	B.A. 1569, A.M. 1573, D.D. 1590; Master of Jes. 1590-1618
Ekin, Ekines, John	Joh.	Matric. 6 July 1610; A.B. 1613, A.M. 1617
Elborough, Elborow, } Elborrough, Ellbor- } rough, Elborough, } Elborowe, Elburrow, } Elsborrough, }	Joh.	Joh. Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.M. 1613
Ellice, Ellis, Lionel	Joh.	A.B. 1610, A.M. 1614
Etherington, Edrington, Geo.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607
Ferne, Geo.	Trin.	Scholar 22 Apr. 1608
Floyd, Simon	Trin.	Matric. 4 July 1605; A.B. 1609
Fordam, Fordham,		
Fortho, Furtho, Tho.	Trin.	Scholar, 1582
Fowler, Rich.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Francis,		porter
Freeman,		Mr Thompson's man
Freisbien, Freisbyen, Goodwyfe		tobacconist
Fresby, Frysby, John		apothecary
Good, Edw.		
Goddin, Godwyn, Andr.		
Goddin, Goodin, Goodwin, Edw.		
Goldingham, } Gouldingham, }	Edw.	Trin. { A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609; Min. Fellow, 1608
Grace, John	Joh.	A.B. 1600, A.M. 1604, B.D. 1612
Hall, Trin.		A.M.
Hall, ? Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1584, A.M. 1588; "Senior of S. John's"
Hall, Jane, Jana.		
Halliwell,		barber
Heath, Heathe, Tho.	Trin.	Matric. July 1607; A.B. 1610; stage-keeper
Heath, Geo.	Trin.	
Herne, Heron, Sam.	Trin.	A.B. 1578, A.M. 1582, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1595
Higle,		
Hill, Sam.	Trin.	A.B. 1588, A.M. 1592, B.D. 1599, D.D. 1608

Hilton,	Sam.	Chr.	Matric. 7 July 1608
Horsmander,	Dan.	Joh.	A.B. 1603, A.M. 1607, B.D. 1614, D.D. 1627
Hoult,	Jeremiah	Joh.	A.B. 1599, A.M. 1603, B.D. 1610
Hutton, Huttonn,	Art.	Joh.	A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611
Jackson,	Nich.		tollgatherer's son
Johnson,	? Art.	Joh.	? A.B. 1576, A.M. 1580, B.D. 1587; President of St John's
Kennston, Kynaston, Fra.		Trin.	A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609; Scholar 12 Apr. 1605; Minor Fellow, 1609
Kemp, Kempe,	Tim.	Trin.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1606; ? Scholar 5 May 1598
King, Kinge,	Joh.		porter at Trinity
Lawson, Lawsons,	Wm.		barber
Layfeild, Layfield,	Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1606, A.M. 1610
Linge,	? Tho.	Trin.	A.B. 1608
Marchand, Marchant,			
Marchante,	Paul	Jes.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606
Mason,	Rob.	*Joh.	A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613, LL.D. 1628
Maurrice,	? Joh.		A.B. 1611
Metcalfe,	Rob.	Joh.	A.B. 1596, A.M. 1602
Muncaster,	Joh.		
Myton,	? Rob.		brewer in S. Botolph's parish. <i>See</i> <i>Acta Curiae</i> , 1610
Nevell, Nevill,	? Geo.	Trin.	Matric. 18 Dec. 1609; stagekeeper
Nevile,	Tho.	Pemb.	Matric. Feb. 1565; A.B. 1569, A.M. 1572, D.D. 1589; Master of Trinity College, 1593-1615; Dean of Can- terbury 1597-1615
Nevill (the 2nd),	? Ed.	Trin.	Matric. 7 July 1608; Scholar 22 Apr. 1608
Newton,	Fogg	Kings	A.B., M.A. 1594, B.D. 1601, D.D. 1606; Provost 1610-1612
Osborne, Osburne,	? Ja.	Joh.	Matric. July 1607
Otbey, Otbye,	Tristram	Joh.	Matric. 10 Apr. 1609; A.B. 1612, A.M. 1616
Oxly, Oxlye, Oxely,			
Oxley, Oxleye,	Rob.	Joh.	
Paget, Pagett,	Nath.	Cai.	Cla. A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613
Palmer,	Sir ? Edw.	Trin.	Scholar, 1610; A.B. 1610-1611; Minor Fellow, 1614; Major Fellow, 1617
Parry,	Jo.		
Pickering,			
Pilgrim, Pylgrime,	Walt.	Joh.	A.B. 1612
Pratt,	? Edm.	Joh.	A.M. 1613
Purkia,			
Randell,	? Rob.		A.B. 1609
Ratclyffe,	Jere.	Trin.	A.B. 1570, A.M. 1574, B.D. 1581, D.D. 1588
Richardson,	Joh.	Cla.	A.B. 1581; Emm. A.M. 1585, B.D. 1592, D.D. 1597; Master of Pet. 1609- 1615; Master of Trin. 1615-1625
Roane, Rone,	Humphrey ...	Trin.	A.B. 1600, A.M. 1604, B.D. 1611; stagekeeper
Rowles,	Gabriel	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606

Rutisse,	Edw.	Trin.	A.B. 1603; Magd. A.M. 1607, B.D. 1616
Scarlett,	? Edw.	Chr.	A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Scholes,	? Aegid.	Trin.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612; Scholar 12 Apr. 1605; Minor Fellow, 1610; Major Fellow 1612
Searl, Serle,	Edw.	Trin.	B.D. 1606, D.D. 1622
Senhouse,	Ric.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1610
Shittleworth, Shutleworth, Leon.	Hen.	Joh.	A.B. 1593
Sherrocke, Shorrock,	John	Joh.	servant to the butler of King's Coll.
Simonds, Symonds,	John	Joh.	A.M. 1613, B.D. 1620
Simonds, Symonds,	John	Joh.	A.B.
Sishton,	Sir	Joh.	constable of the Round Parish 1611.
Slegg, Slegge	Rob.	Joh.	Licensed Victualler Round Parish 1608-1611. Buried 13 Apr. 1622
Smart,		Joh.	porter at Trinity
Smyth,	Wm.	Joh.	A.B. 1609
Sotheby,	? Joh.	Joh.	Scholar 1602; Minor Fellow 1606; stagekeeper
Stanhope, Stanopp, Stannopp, Geo. ...		Trin.	A.B. 1582, A.M. 1586, B.D. 1593
Synowes, <i>see</i> Senhouse		Trin.	A.B. 1610; Cla. A.M. 1614
Thompson, Tompson, Paul	Joh.	Joh.	innkeeper
Thompson,	Joh.	Joh.	A.B. 1603, A.M. 1612
Tillett,		Trin.	A.B. 1566, A.M. 1570, B.D. 1577, D.D. 1582; Pt of Queens' 1579-1614
Trott,	Ric.	Trin.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607, A.B. 1611
Twelves, Twelles,	Wm.	Trin.	Matric. 5 July 1604, A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Tyndale,	Humphrey ...	Pemb.	1612
Turret,	? Theo.	Joh.	
Vaughan,	? Joh.	Joh.	
Vicars, Vickears,	Fra.	Trin.	
Vice-Chancellor, <i>see</i> Newton			
Warde,	Jarmin, Jermin	Chr.	A.B. 1592, A.M. 1596, B.D. 1603, D.D. 1610; Master of Sid. Suss. 1610
Ward,	Sam.	Chr.	Matric. 16 Apr. 1609
Ward, Warde,	? Wm.	Trin.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.B. 1613, D.D. 1632
Warr,	? Wm.	Trin.	A.B. 1593, A.M. 1597, B.D. 1605
Waterhowse,	Jere.	Trin.	drawer at Tillett's
Webster,		Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606
Whaly, Wheley,	Wm.	Joh.	churchwarden of Trin. Parish
Whaley, Whaleye, Wheley, Tho.		Trin.	A.B. 1596, A.M. 1600, B.D. 1608
Whitgrave,	Walt.	Trin.	Matric. 7 July 1608; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Wilbey,	Matth.	Trin.	carter
Wilkin,		Trin.	A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609
Wilkinson,	Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1605, B.D. 1613, D.D. 1617
Williams, Wilyams,	John	Joh.	pavior
Winge,		Trin.	Adm. Scholar 12 Apr. 1605
Winter,	P.	Trin.	servant to Mr Senhouse
Winscall,	John	Chr.	A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Wood,	Isaake	Chr.	
Woodrofe,			



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OF MEDIEVAL CAMBRIDGE

BY THE

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CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE



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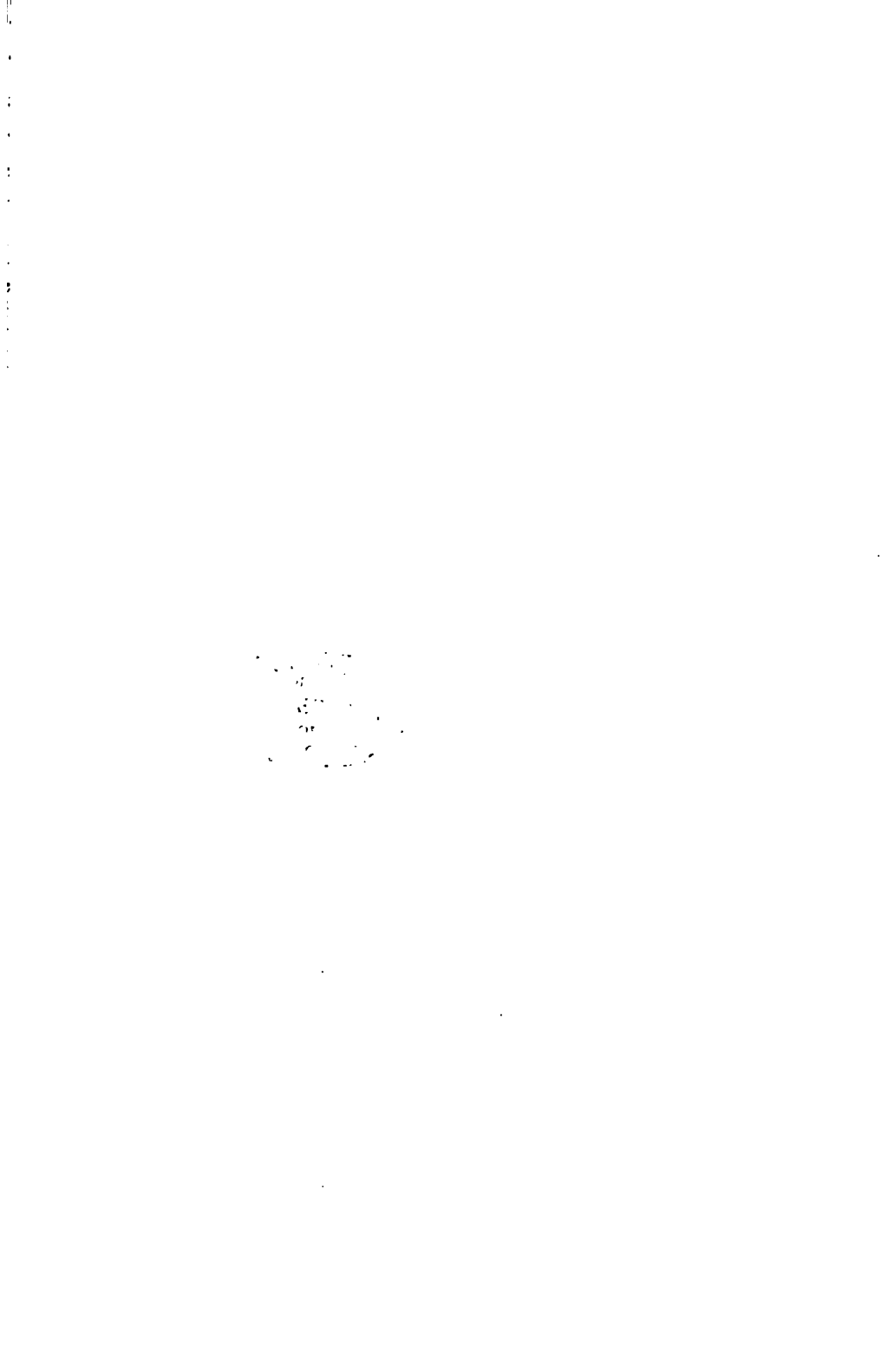
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EXCHANGE

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. CONJECTURAL MAP, illustrating Trumpington Street *Frontispiece*

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr Alderman Kett, to whose skill the execution of this Map is due.

2. A DEED OF SALE, with Hebrew Quitclaim attached *facing p. 20*

THE writer desires to thank the Master of St John's College, the Rev. Dr Walker of Peterhouse, the Rev. the Master of Pembroke and Messrs Hadley and Comber, Mr A. J. Wallis of Corpus Christi, Mr Arthur Gray of Jesus, and others, upon whose kindness he has trespassed in the matter of deeds and documents.

CHAPTER I.

OUTSIDE TRUMPINGTON GATES.

THE assertion made so confidently by Professor Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*¹, that "Cambridge stood wholly on the left bank of the river Grant or Cam" finds few supporters now-a-days. The dual origin of our town is recognised².

But what was the extent of the part of Cambridge which the river separated from the Castle Hill? and how far did it reach towards the south and east?

This essay will endeavour to illustrate the answer in one direction and for one period. It will survey the Trumpington Road in the thirteenth century. It will endeavour to prove that, outside the gates and beyond the King's Ditch, there dwelt a number³ of influential members of the University and citizens of the town of Cambridge.

The term, "Trumpington Road," needs limitation, for even so late as the end of the eighteenth century, the high street of Cambridge right up to its junction with Bridge Street was occasionally called by the name of the well-known village where Chaucer's miller lived. Here we are dealing with the part of the road outside the gates near St Botolph's Church.

When those gates were first set up is not recorded. We

¹ Edition of 1871, vol. iv. p. 219; *English Towns and Districts*, p. 238; Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, p. 11.

² Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 99; A. Gray, *C. A. S.*, 4 Nov. 1907.

³ The Subsidy Rolls of 1314, 5 (P. R. O. 34), show that the "Trumpington warde" (although it did not include Newnham, as the *Hundred Rolls* did) ranked easily second among the Cambridge wards in the number of its inhabitants. *Cambridge Gilds*, edited by M. Bateson, *C. A. S.* xxxix. p. 154.

are, indeed, told, in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*¹, that King Henry III at the time of the Barons' War "fecit edificare portas, et facere fossatas in circuitu ville cum magna diligencia." But the "Trumpington Gates" were certainly much older than 1266. The dedication of the church of St Botolph had doubtless something to do with its position. The name of the East Anglian Saint is often linked with churches situated "at the gates or without the walls" of towns and cities—for St Botolph "was held to be the patron or protector of travellers², who on their setting out or arrival prayed in his chapels at the gates." So the church bearing his name is connected with the southern approach to Cambridge. We do not know the date of its foundation, but there are references to it in the twelfth century, and it or its predecessor may have been much older.

The expression "the southern entrance to Cambridge" is here used—although the object of this essay is to dwell upon the part of our town *outside the Trumpington Gates*—because it must be admitted (as a glance at the map will show) that the line of the King's Ditch must for many generations have formed an evident boundary to the town—beyond which lay not only the Barnwell Fields, but also the marsh land where Downing College now stands and the pools in the direction of Cherryhinton. Yet, beyond this ditch, there were outlying reaches in three directions—where the Bury Road runs past the Priors of St Radegund and of Barnwell, and where roads ran out from the Barnwell and from the Trumpington Gates.

The present writer deals with the dwellers outside the last-mentioned gates.

Where exactly were these Trumpington Gates? There is no distinct statement in the old records. But the following allusion in a thirteenth century deed throws light on their position. In the Treasury of Corpus Christi College (Drawer 31) there is a document³ which is endorsed as follows: "Carta

¹ *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, edited by J. W. Clark, M.A., p. 122.

² *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xi. p. 54, &c.

³ *Cambridge Gilds*, edited by Mary Bateson, C. A. S. xxxix. p. 130.

Ricardi Bateman xijd. redditus *de tenemento juxta portas de Trumpynton*." The house in question, we find on consulting the grant, was "in the parish of St Botolph, between Adam the Barker's and the King's Ditch." Now the King's Ditch ran, from the river by the mills, down the Mill Lane and along what is now called Pembroke Street. We therefore conclude that Richard Bateman's tenement was situated at the corner where Mr Hall's bookselling establishment now stands, and that the Trumpington Gates must have spanned the king's highway near this house.

A word or two may be said as to the parishes outside these gates. The gates, themselves, as remarked above, were situated in the parish of St Botolph, whose southern boundary ran—with the ditch—from the ancient mills, half-way along the lane still called Mill Lane. It then encloses an outlying portion of St Benet's parish, coming out into Trumpington Road just north of where the Congregational Chapel now stands. Crossing the highway, the boundary bent to the east, and passed through what is now the Old Court of Pembroke College—and so on for a space; then bulging out and including a large portion of the "Downing site." Thus immediately outside the King's Ditch and outside the gates were situated parts of the parishes of St Botolph and St Benet. South of these were the church and the parish of St Peter—called "St Peter without the Trumpington Gates" to distinguish it from the church and the parish of the same name situated in the other part of the town beyond the river and called St Peter's "ad Castrum." This church (now called St Mary's the Less) belonged when Peter-house was founded, and had belonged for about a century, to the master and brethren of St John's Hospital, an establishment of Augustinian canons dwelling near where the northern end of Trumpington Street joins Bridge Street. From a curious legal record¹ of the reign of Richard I we learn that the advowson had been given to the Hospital by Henry FitzSegar, by whom and by ancestors of whom the presentation and the living had

¹ *Placit. Abbrev.* p. 98; Coke's first *Institute*, 109 b; Selden, *History of Tithes*, p. 386; Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 29; *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 359.

been held for more than 120 years—though it must be noted that the numbers quoted are suspiciously round. This—if taken literally—would carry us back “T. R. E.,” to days before the Conquest.

St Peter’s parish extended southwards along the highway, on the west side until it met the boundaries of Trumpington, and on the east side to what is now Fitzwilliam Street; where began a part of the parish of St Benedict, which stretched some way east and south; being bounded in the latter direction by the western end of the Barnwell Fields—now occupied by Brookside and the University Botanic Gardens.

This at any rate was the apportionment of the parishes in the thirteenth century, as indeed it is at the present day. But the strips of land which were included in what were technically called “the Cambridge Fields,” seem to have paid tithes¹ to various parishes, perhaps to whatever church the occupiers, or owners, chose.

Having noted generally how the parishes lie, we are about to return to the Trumpington Gates, and to proceed systematically along the king’s highway towards the south.

It will be observed that, following many documents, we have used the expression “the Trumpington Gates”—in the plural. Frequently, however, the term “the Trumpington Gate”—in the singular—is employed. The explanation of the discrepancy is doubtless to be found in the supposition that, at the ancient entrance to the town near the church of St Botolph, stood double gates, which were collectively called “the Trumpington Gate” and separately “the Trumpington Gates.”

We shall take as our principal date the period just preceding the foundation of Peterhouse, for which Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, obtained a licence in the year 1284. And this is a convenient date, because a few years previously, in 1278, Edward I had ordered an elaborate survey to be taken, the results of which embodied in the *Hundred Rolls* are especially detailed as to the town of Cambridge.

¹ Maitland, *T. and B.*, p. 59.

But, though this may be taken as our rallying point, we shall frequently antedate by many years our researches as to the properties held outside the gates, and occasionally trace their ownership or use later on in the fourteenth century.

It may also be noted that besides the detailed information afforded by the *Rotuli Hundredorum* and by various subsidy rolls and tallage-records, so many of the messuages and fields passed into the hands of religious and collegiate institutions, that we are able to consult numerous deeds preserved by these societies—among which may be named the colleges of Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus, St John (the successors of the old Hospital) and Jesus (the inheritors of St Radegund's); while the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*, the records of Anglesey Abbey and other monastic institutions have been consulted in print or manuscript.

So many are the documents thus preserved, and so frequently did the properties change hands, that it would be possible to draw up a very long list of persons who owned, or leased, houses or land outside the Trumpington Gates in the thirteenth century; and yet there are frequent gaps in the order of succession and inheritance.

CHAPTER II.

DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS.

IT will perhaps be well, before proceeding further, to take a general survey of the deeds or records which tell of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and of the owners of property therein.

The most complete list is given in the celebrated *Hundred Rolls* of 1279: those who were connected with the Parish of St Peter-without-the-Gate may be quoted, and the details recorded of the possessions and claims summarised. Unfortunately no boundaries or abutments are specified (and this omission prevents the discrimination of the parishioners of St Benet's and of St Botolph's who lived without from those who were within the Trumpington Gates):

The Friars of the Sack, who are stated¹ (as may be seen from the quotation given in full on page 22) to have derived their property partly from "Richard de Heke Lingham" (about whom nothing is known) and from many others (whose gifts and grants are detailed on pages 23—28).

*The Prior and Convent of Anglesey*² held one messuage (of which no particulars are given); another, of the gift of Eustace son of Ralph, which Stephen Ace formerly held (of which the Commissioners say, as they do in several other cases: *quo warranto Prior tenet dictum tenementum nesciunt*); an annual rent of 3s., of the gift of John Le Ry, formerly rector of the Chapel of St Edmund, arising out of a messuage which John Le Ry had of the gift of Laurence son of Alan of Blakeham, which Laurence had it of the gift of John son of Arnold of Cambridge; also a rent of 5s. from a messuage [towards the Chapel of St Edmund] which Peter son of Ivo formerly had; and 4s. rent, paid by Richard Bateman; and 6s. paid

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 360.

² See also Hallstone's *History of Bottisham*, C. A. S. xiv. pp. 229, 240.

by Berneus the Butcher (*Carnifex*), which they had of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, which Robert had it *ex antiqua successione hereditaria antecessorum suorum*; together with 2s. rent, the gift of Simon the Chamberlain (*Camerarius*) of E[ustace], Bishop of Ely.

Henry de Ho held one messuage, &c., which he had by hereditary right on the death of his father Thomas de Ho, who bought it from Matilda daughter of John of Cambridge, clerk, who had it on the death of her father, who had it *ex antiqua exemptione*. It paid 1d. annually to Matilda and her heirs, and 4s. to Luke of St Edmund's *sicut capitale domino feodi*. Henry de Ho also held a croft, &c., which came to him from his father, who bought it of Alan Baseli of Cambridge; and *una placea terre*, which his father bought of Hugh le Rus, who had it by hereditary succession; also half a rood of land, which his father bought of Margaret daughter of Roger clerk of Cambridge, whose father had it by hereditary succession.

William de Sauston chaplain held one messuage, of the gift of Matilda Sephare, who had it by hereditary right on the death of her ancestors—a rose was paid to Margaret and 2s. to Luke of St Edmund's.

John Perin held one messuage which he bought of the Abbot and Convent of Lavendene, which they had of the gift of Cecilia Godsol, who inherited it on the death of her ancestors; and another messuage of the gift of Peter de Welles his brother, who bought it of John of Histon, who bought it of Simon Fot, who inherited it from his ancestors—4d. rent was paid to Luke of St Edmund's.

John de Eilesham and Sabina his wife held the following properties:

(1) A messuage, which Sabina bought of Eustace Selede, who inherited it on the death of his brother Simon Selede, who had it *ex antiqua successione parentorum suorum*—paying a rent of 8d. to the Prior of Barnwell.

(2) A messuage which Sabina bought of Thomas de Ho, which he bought of Hervey, son of Michael, which Hervey bought of the Prioress and Convent of St Radegund—to whom 3s. rent was paid.

(3) A messuage, which Sabina bought of the Prioress &c. of St Radegund—who received 3s. rent.

(4) A messuage, which they bought of Richard son of Richard Burs, who inherited it on the death of his father—12d. rent being paid to St Radegund. (The Commissioners add in these four instances that they do not know how the Convents obtained their rights.)

(5) John also held the following messuages: one which he bought of Thomas of Cottenham, which he bought of Richard Herward [Mich. Bernard (?)], which he had by hereditary succession—from this messuage a rent of 3s. was paid to Geoffrey de Spartegrave. [Cf. p. 9.]

(6) One messuage, which he bought of John Pikerel, which he inherited on the death of his father Henry Pickerell, who had it in free marriage of the gift of Richard Skin—a rose was paid to John Pickerel and 2s. to the Prioress of St Radegund.

(7) One messuage, which he bought of Hugo de Dethe and of Alice his wife, which they had of the gift of her father Henry Pikerel, who had it of the gift of Richard Skin in free marriage with Rosa his daughter—a pair of gloves being paid to Gilbert Bernard.

(8) A messuage, which he bought of John le Reder, who bought it of Simon Selede, who had it of his ancestors—3s. rent being paid to the Prior of Barnwell.

(9) A messuage, which he bought of Simon of Trumpington, who bought it of Eustace Selede.

Luke of St Edmund's held one messuage¹ &c. in St Peter's and a horse-mill in the market of Cambridge with 70 acres of land in the Fields of Cambridge pertaining to the same messuage, which he inherited on the death of his brother Master Thomas, who had it of the gift of his father Walter of St Edmund's, who inherited it on the decease of his mother Alice, who had it in succession from her ancestors.

Alan Baseli held one messuage, which he bought of Matilda daughter of John Clerk of Cambridge, who had it of the gift of her brother Master Walter, who had it on the death of his father John, who had it by ancient purchase—rent of 1s. being paid to Geoffrey son of John, and 1s. to the chaplain celebrating the mass of St Mary in the church of St Mary of Cambridge.

Hervey Pippe [Prippe ?] held one messuage, which he bought of the Prior and Convent of Anglesey, who had it of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, who inherited it on the death of his mother Amicia Godsol, who inherited it from her ancestors—a rent of 3s. being paid to the Prior and Convent.

Alan Attepond held one messuage, which he bought of Alexander Atteberne, who had it of the gift of Simon Fot, who had it *ex antiquo perquisito*—paying a rent of 40d. to the heirs of Peter de Welles by the assignment of the said Simon.

Sepehar (or Sephar) le Gaunt' held one messuage, which he bought of Stephen of Cottenham chaplain, who had it of the gift of Geoffrey of Alderheth, chaplain, who bought it of John son of Stephen, which Stephen had it *de antiquo perquisito*. Hence were rents of 12d. to Alice Hervey and her heirs, and 3d. for the sustenance of a lamp in the church of St Sepulchre.

¹ Rot. Hund. ii. p. 872.

Peter Swyn held a messuage which he inherited on the death of his father Thomas, who had it on the death of his father Hervey ; and another messuage, similarly through his father Thomas and his grandfather Hervey, the latter having it on the death of Alice Wylunet his mother—paying 8*d.* rent to Luke of St Edmund's.

John de Berkinke chaplain held one messuage, in the parish of St John [St Peter ?] without the gate of Trumpiton', which he bought of Alice, daughter of William Lucke the Miller (*Molendinarius*), who inherited it on the death of her brother John, who inherited it on the death of his father William, who bought it of Thomas Elyot, who had it by ancient hereditary succession—it paid 3*s.* rent to the said Thomas and his heirs.

Thomas, son of Edmund the Miller (*Molendinarius*), held one messuage, which he bought of Richard Timpon, who inherited it by the death of William Timpon his father, who had it by ancient purchase—it paid rents of 4*d.* each to the Nuns of St Radegund and to the Hospital of St John by the assignment of the said William.

Simon of Potton and Margaret his wife held one messuage in Trumpitune strate which descended to them by the death of John Paternoster husband of the said Margaret, and the said John had it of the gift of Simon the Carter (*le Chareter*) in free marriage with the said Margaret his daughter ; Simon bought it of John le Rus—a rent of 2*s.* being paid to the Almoner of Barnwell. Simon also bought an acre of land in the Fields of Cambridge from Luke of St Edmund's.

Sabina daughter of John Paternoster held one messuage in the Parish of St Peter without the gate, which she had of the gift of her father, who bought it of Thomas son of William le Teler.

[The following rent-charge has been already given on page 7 ; but it is repeated in the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 365) in an independent paragraph. It will be noticed that a mistake in each entry is corrected in the other:]

Geoffrey Spartegrave and his wife Agnes [daughter of Michael Bernard] received 3*s.* rent from John Glasham [Eylsham] and Sabina his wife for a messuage...which they had of the gift of Isabella Wombe, who had had it as a gift from Michael Bernard her father.

From the Charters¹ of the Priory of St Radegund, preserved at Jesus College and admirably calendared by Mr A. Gray, the following deeds "of the thirteenth century," referring to St Peter's-extra-Trumpington Gate, may be quoted :

¹ *C. A. S.* xxxi. pp. 105, 6 ; 140, 1 ; 107.

"156 a. Ralf Sigan, priest, to the Nuns : land without Trump. Gate next land of Hen. Meso and land of which his son Coleman has the reversion after his death. Witness, Maurice, *capellanus*.

b. The same to the same : land in same place. Same witnesses.

c. Hugh FitzAlgar Brest releases to the Nuns (Priores Letitia) land given to them by Ralf Sigan. Witn. Hervey FitzEustace.

157. Nuns (Pr. Letitia) to Ric. Burs, butcher, land in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, between land of Ric. Sinerles and land of Hen. Scolemaister : rent 12*d*., two capons, and half a mark as *gersuma*. Witn. Sir Drogo, *capellanus*.

158. Nuns to Mabel Blangernun for her life : a mess. in Trump. Street formerly held of them by Hen. Scolemayster, between a mess. of Rich. Burs, butcher, and a mess. of Ric. Cau : rent 5*s*. Witn. Joh. Ruffus.

159. Nuns (Pr. Custancia) to Pet. de Wilburham and wife Sabina : a mess. in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, lately held of Nuns by Mabel Blangernun, between land of said Sabina and land of Thomas de Cotenham : rent 3*s*. Joh. Leacon, mayor.

160. Nuns (Pr. Elena) to Joh. de Eylesham and wife Sabina : plot of ground in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, between his land and land of Mr Hugh de Hulmo, ab. in front on the highway : rent 6*d*. Joh. Martin, mayor.

161. Marg., wid. of Ralf, to Rob. FitzMaud : land in St P. par. *extra portam Cantabr.* between land of St P. church and land of Absalon FitzWymund, next the Chapel of St Edmund : rent 4*d*., two capons, and 2*s*. *gersuma*. Witn. Walt., son of Mr Geoffrey."

"362. Hervey FitzEustace to the Nuns, with his sister Roda when she has taken the religious habit in their house:...a mess. outside Trumpington Gates, held by the wife of Selede Pinberd, next Rob. Nadun : a mess. in the par. of St Benedict, held by Hen. Bekke, between Apsolon, son of a priest, and Walter, son of Mr Geoffrey. Witn. Bartholomew, official of Ely."

[The following St Radegund property in St Benet's Parish was also doubtless without the Trumpington Gates, and some of the other deeds on pp. 107 and 108 of Mr Gray's *Priory of St Radegund* were probably on the east of Trumpington Road:]

"169 a. Walter son of Master Geoffrey of Camb. to Peter FitzBurchard : land in St B. par. which Filurun held of his father : rent 2*s*., two capons and two hens and 20*s*. *gersuma*. Witn. Bartholomew, chaplain.

b. Will. de St Edmund to Nuns : the above mess., described as in the great street towards Trump. gate ; rent as above, the Nuns releasing to him an acre of land in Camb. fields which they hold of the same Walter, son of Geoffrey. Witn. Maurice Ruffus.

c. Alice, wife of above Will. de St Edmund and dau. of Master Geoffrey, confirms the above grant. Witn. as above.

d. Walter, son of above Will. and Alice, confirms the same grant. Witness as above."

In the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (edited by J. W. Clark, M.A.), p. 289, there is a list of "Redditus Prioris de Bernewelle in villa de Cantebrigia," including the following:

Parochia Sancti Petri extra Trumpitonegatis.

Canonici de Simplingham tenent unam placeam terre juxta Deudeneris lane, et reddunt ijd.

Robertus de Wynewyc tenet unum mesuagium juxta fratres Saccorum, et reddit ijs. et iiij capones.

Johannes de Eylesham tenet unum mesuagium juxta ecclesiam Sancti Petri, et reddit viijd. et ij capones.

Parochia Sancti Benedicti.

Robertus de Bitteringe tenet unum mesuagium extra portas de Trumpitone, et reddit ixd.

[A note at the end adds:]

Item Johannes le Rus [solebat reddere] viginti octo solidos xj denarios per annum. [See p. 41.]

In connexion with Anglesey Abbey, a document is mentioned in Hailstone's *History of Bottisham* (pp. 239—242), giving a list of the Convent's possessions in Cambridge; but it need not be quoted here, as it is evidently copied from the *Hundred Rolls*, as given above.

Another document, connected with this Abbey, however, referred to on p. 185, is of such interest from the persons and places mentioned that it is here quoted in full from the *Miscellaneous Charters* in the Augmentation Office (vol. xv. no. 112):

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus prior de Angleseye et ejusdem loci conventus unanimi assensu et favore concordi concessimus remissimus et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris et in perpetuum quietum clamavimus Thome servienti universitatis Cantebreg' et Matilde uxori sue et eorum heredibus et assignatis totum jus nostrum et claimum quod unquam habuimus vel habere poterimus in duobus messuagiis et duobus acris et una roda terre arabilis cum suis pertinentiis jacentibus in vico molendinorum de Cantebreg inter terram Willielmi Seman ex una parte et terram Symonis de Bradele ex altera. Que vero duo messuagia et terram predictam cum suis pertinentiis Robertus filius Roberti Hubert modo canonicus noster dum secularis erat dedit et incartavit Rogero filio

Willelmi de Malketon in Cantebrig' in liberum maritagium cum Matilda filia Cecilie de Comberton. Ita videlicet quod nec nos nec successores nostri pro nobis vel nomine nostro in predictis duobus messuagiis et duobus acris et una roda terre cum suis pertinentiis jus aliquod imponere vel claimum exigere inde de cetero poterimus. Pro hac autem nostra concessione remissione et presenti quieta clamazione dederunt nobis predicti Thomas et Matilda pro se et heredibus suis et suis assignatis et eorum heredibus illud messuagium cum suis pertinentiis in Trumpiton Strate de Cantebrig quod jacet inter terram quondam Ricardi Tunpan ex una parte et terram Henrici (?) Prippe ex altera in perpetuum et quadraginta solidos argenti in manibus. In cujus rei testimonium huic carte sigillum nostrum comune apposuimus. Hiis testibus Johanne Buth tunc majore de Cantebreg—Johanne Grim, Waltero Seman, Ricardo de Heckeles, Ricardo filio Bateman tunc baliviis—Bartolomeo Goggin, Gylberto Bernard, Willelmo Eliot, Rogero de Wylberham et Johanne scriptore et aliis."

In the *Pedes Finium*¹, relating to the County of Cambridge, are many notices referring to the district which we are treating, e.g.,

56 Hen. III (49). Brother Roger de Ebor' Prior of the Order "de Penitencia Jesu Christi" of Cantebrig' [per fratrem Johannem de Hykelington] v. Walter le Braszur and Aldretha his wife [de una crofta &c.] in the suburbs of Cantebrig.

24 Ed. I (7). Magister Robert de Bytering v. Thomas de Tudenham and Margareta his wife [de uno mesuagio et dimidio et tribus acris terre cum pertinentiis] in Cantebrig', &c.

In the *Cartulary* preserved in the Treasury of St John's College, there are two or three most interesting Rent-Rolls, arranged under Parishes.

Under the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates, for one term (undated²), occur the following names and payments:

"De Clericis Universitatis.....ijs.

De Nicholao Pawe pro tenemento suo super le Gynggesdich (*sic*)...xij d.

De Radulpho de Ekelington pro hospicio nostro quod tenet ad terminum vite.....xxs.

¹ C. A. S. xxvi. (edited by Walter Rye).

² These rent-rolls are undated; but they probably belong to a period preceding the acquirement of the Hostels by Bishop Hugh de Balaham, for their occupiers are not styled *magistri* and thus do not seem to be members of the University. The first payments, those made by the University Clerks, show that the Haydon Hostel on the other side of the road was already given to, or hired by, the University. John Pawe is mentioned in a lawsuit in the year 1298 (Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 68).

De Johanne Wycstolke pro hospicio nostro quod tenet ad firmam.....
 xxvijs.
 De Priore de Angleseye.....ijd.
 De tenemento quod Willielmus de Bertone tenet.....,iiij d. et ij
 capones etc."

For another term we have the *redditus* :

"De Clericis Universitatis.....ijs.
 De Johanne pawe pro tenemento suo super le Kynges dyche.....xij d.
 De radulpho de Ekelington etc.....xx s.
 De uxore Galfridi Dukis (?).....xxv s.
 De priore de Angleseye.
 De uxore quondam Johannis pourfyth.....iiij d."

Besides the Radegund deeds at Jesus College, calendared by Mr A. Gray and referred to above, there are hundreds of conveyances preserved at St John's, Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus Christi and other colleges. Many of these the writer, by the kind permission of the authorities, has been allowed to consult—various quotations from them being made in these pages; but unfortunately they have not yet been systematically calendared, though in several cases useful lists have been made of the contents of bundles or chests or drawers. In some cases, also, more or less correct catalogues have been published in the *Reports* of the Historical MSS. Commission.

The dates of these records and documents, of course, vary. Sometimes unfortunately they are not dated at all; though in many of such cases it is possible, by noting the names of the witnesses, to give the year approximately. In certain instances, the names of previous possessors or tenants enable us to carry back the ownership; this is especially so in the long list of the *Hundred Rolls*, where the succession to the property is carefully enquired into, and authoritatively set forth.

CHAPTER III.

TRUMPINGTON ROAD. THE WEST SIDE.

WE may, at length, proceed to go systematically along the West Side of the *Via Regia*, beginning next to where the Trumpington Gates stood of old and the Pitt Press stands now

A block of houses and land reached from Mill Lane to the lane by St Peter's (or Little St Mary's) Church. Of this scarcely any records¹ remain; though subsequently it was the site of the manor-house of the Cotton Hall property—an old mansion which for generations stood opposite Pembroke. The Cotton family² was long prominent in the rolls of Cambridge, supplying mayors or parliamentary burgesses to the town. As the manor—which was very extensive in the borough and in neighbouring villages—was also called Cayles or Caylyse, the Cottons probably succeeded to the possessions of an important family named Cayley, whose headquarters were in Trumpington, but who likewise figured largely in the annals of Cambridge. In later times, in the sixteenth century, the manor passed into the hands of Dr Henry Hervey, Master of Trinity Hall, who

¹ Or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that, owing to the meeting of the two parishes—St Benet's and St Peter's—in this corner, it is difficult to locate houses merely mentioned parochially in deeds. The residence of the Pawe family, taxed in the St John's Hospital rent-rolls, was doubtless down Mill Lane, as it is said to be on the King's Ditch in St Peter's parish (see pp. 12 and 13). So, the old *Katharine Wheel*, "in St Mary's without Trumpington Gate...situated upon the King's Ditch near Pembroke Hall" (according to *Masters, History of C. C. C.*, p. 52), was perhaps near this, though there must be some mistake in the historian's description.

² Baker MSS. iii. p. 318; vii. p. 179; xvii. p. 133; Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 177.

left it to his college. The manor-house on Trumpington Road was pulled down in the eighteenth century. In Braunius's map, a rope-walk stretched behind it down towards the mills.

We come next to the Church of St Peter, to the antiquity of which reference has already been made. A large part of this sacred building fell down¹ in the year 1350, but it was soon afterwards re-erected and re-dedicated to St Mary the Less. It may be remarked, in connexion with the family whose manor-house has just been alluded to as standing between it and the Trumpington Gates, that, a year or two before the fall of the chancel, John Cotton had founded a chantry in the church, endowing it with some property across the road, which will be described when the eastern side of the highway is dealt with.

The history of the church need not be detailed here, though two or three points may be mentioned. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Carmelites², who had for some years been stationed at Chesterton, moved into this parish, and occupied some three acres across the waters in Newnham. There is a record of a covenant³ between them and the brethren of St John's Hospital, granting the new-comers the use of the church. Such, however, was the state of the river, or the various branches of the river, at that period, that we are told⁴ that the Carmelites "suffered in winter many and great inconveniences, on account of the inundation of the waters, so that scholars could not have access to them to hear divinity, nor could they go to town to obtain their victuals." This description of course refers to the passage of "the small bridges," towards what is now called Silver Street; and though the Carmelites may have threaded their way by some paths and fordings across by the Mills to St Peter's, yet we find, from the *Hundred Rolls*⁵ and from the Barnwell records⁶, that they erected a church in their convent bounds. Subsequently, how-

¹ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. p. 319.

² Barnwell *Liber Mem.*, edited by J. W. Clark, p. 211.

³ Baker MS. 42, f. 195 b; Baker-Mayor, ii. 557, 8; *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, i. 78.

⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 51; Cooper's *Annals*, i. 62.

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

⁶ *Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

ever, they removed their whole establishment to this side of the river and occupied a part of the present sites of Queens' and King's Colleges.

But to return to St Peter's; the advowson of that church was by arrangement given to the first Cambridge college, which was founded by Hugh de Balsham, when he separated the scholars whom he had placed in the Hospital of St John and transferred them to the two tenements¹ near the church, which formed the nucleus of Peterhouse.

These two historic houses had long been in the possession of the brethren of St John's Hospital, and apparently had been used as residences or hostels for students. In the year 1246 Hugh Northwold, Bishop of Ely, on behalf of the Augustinian brethren, procured from Hugo de Hottun, then Chancellor of the University, an exemption² from taxation for these two Hostels. After the failure of Bishop Hugh Balsham's celebrated experiment of introducing scholars among the brethren of the Hospital, the secular students were transferred to these Hostels; the church of St Peter, the tithes of the two mills and other possessions being bestowed upon them, while certain other properties were assigned by the Bishop to the Hospital. These two tenements, which thus formed the foundation³ of Peterhouse—the first Cambridge college—remained standing until the reign of Charles I. They are called by Caius⁴ "the hostel of the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ and the hostel of the Secular Brothers of St John the Evangelist"; and, by Richard Parker⁵, "the Hostels of the Brothers of Penance, and of Jesus Christ." But it will be noticed that the latter title arises from a confusion; while the name derived

¹ See interesting references to these hostels in the undated Rent-Rolls in the St John's *Cartulary*, quoted on pp. 12 and 13, and the note there.

² Baker MS. x. (7037), p. 144; xix. (7046), p. 227 b; Baker-Mayor, p. 21.

³ In a bundle of deeds in the Treasury at Corpus Christi College (nos. 101–110, Drawer 31), there is a grant (in the year 1349) by John Redhode: "From the tenement of the scholars of the House of St Peter which they inhabit, 3d." See *Cambridge Gilds* (Bateson), C. A. S. xxxix. p. 137. But Corpus has not now any claim on Peterhouse.

⁴ *Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. p. 54.

⁵ *Hist. and Antiq.* p. 34.

from the Friars of the Sack is evidently a mistake, as these particular buildings were never part of the possessions of the said Friars. They were afterwards (says Dr Walker in his *History of Peterhouse*¹) called the "Great" and the "Little Hostle," and (in 1626) contained respectively ten and seven chambers. "That one of the Hostels occupied the site of the present Porter's Lodge appears from the description of the tenement of Robert Hewes, the butler, he having the Library as his western boundary. The 'Little Hostle' was pulled down when the Chapel was built in 1628-32. It evidently stood on the street-front of the Chapel. The 'Great Hostle,' in which apparently Hewes had his tenement, must have been razed for the completion of the Library range in 1633."

The old Combination Room² of Peterhouse was formerly "wainscoted with small oblong Pannels, the two upper Rows of which were filled with Paintings on Board of several of the older Masters and Benefactors to the College. Each Picture had an inscription in the Corner, and on a separate long Pannel under each much ornamented with painting, was a Latin Distic." The first of these was "A view of the two antient Hostles of the Brothers of Penance, and of Jesus Christ: on the Spot where they stood, Hugh de Balsham Bp. of Ely founded this College in 1280." Many of the *Pannels* have been preserved, but this—of the "*Scholasticorum Hospitia*"—has unfortunately disappeared. They were *in situ* when Carter's *History*³ appeared in 1753; but, according to Cole, Bishop Keene, the Master, shortly afterwards removed them across to his Lodge.

Bishop Hugh de Balsham maintained his interest in his foundation to the last, bequeathing to the scholars the sum of 300 marks, "with which they bought a certain area to the south of the church, and built thereon a handsome Hall (*aula perpulcra*)."

The present hall is substantially the same as the original one, says Mr J. W. Clark, who, at the end of the first volume of the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (p. 620) quotes from Professor Willis the following note

¹ (*College Histories Series*), p. 20.

² Cole MS. xxxv. 112; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 68.

³ *History* (1753), pp. 88-88.

on the doorway at the south end of the hall-screen: "It [the doorway] belongs in fact to the thirteenth century, and is earlier in style than the foundation of the college. Standing as it does on the ground bought from the Friars of the Penitence in 1307, it must, with part of the wall of the hall adjacent to it, be considered as a portion of their buildings which was appropriated to the use of the college." This note, however, is not only inconsistent with the statement as to the erection of the Hall soon after the death of the Bishop in 1286, but is unsupported by the references as to the properties of the Friars, whose buildings do not seem to have reached so far north as the hostels.

Between the hostels and the churchyard stood an important estate belonging to a lady, who, when she sold this property¹ to some representatives of Peterhouse at the end of the thirteenth century, was known as Sabina, formerly the wife of John de Aylesham. This widow, who was a great heiress, was the daughter of a Cambridge citizen named Martin Brithnoth², upon whose death, and that of her uncle Hervey, she succeeded to the family possessions and proceeded to purchase other houses and lands. Her first husband³ was Peter de Wilburham, one of the borough bailiffs, who apparently died after a short married life. Mistress Sabina after a while found another partner⁴ in John de Aylesham, a Cambridge townsman, who held the same official post for several years. After the death of this citizen, the lady soon appears as "Sabina Asselof⁴," and therefore it may be presumed that she or her possessions had again proved attractive, although it should be noted that

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 8.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 371, 2.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 26; compared with *Hundred Rolls*, as in last note.

⁴ Cole MS. ii. p. 57; xii. p. 123 b. The present writer is unable to account for this name, unless there was some family connexion with Simon Asselof, her neighbour mentioned in the deed quoted on the next page. This Simon Asselof was probably the well-known Magister Simon de Ascellis, who became Prior of Barnwell (see p. 40). Many remarks might be made, throughout this essay, upon the surnames mentioned therein.

she still sometimes styled herself "formerly the wife of John de Aylesham." She was apparently one of the largest owners of property in Cambridge; indeed in the parish of St Peter-without-the-gates, with which we are now dealing, she possessed no less than nine houses and eleven acres. These we shall have occasion to enumerate later on. Here, before we return to the property next to the church, one deed may be referred to as a specimen of the records of her possessions.

In the Treasury of Peterhouse there was preserved till lately a document¹ which was of unique interest in Cambridge, because there was attached to it a Hebrew quitclaim, recalling the days, before the expulsion, when so many citizens had recourse to Jewish money-lenders. Fortunately, although the deed is now lost, a photograph of it is in existence, and this, by the kindness of Mr J. W. Clark, the Registrary, is here reproduced. The document, in legal phraseology, tells how Thomas de Ho, clerk, granted to Peter de Wilburham and Sabina his wife, for the sum of twenty shillings, a certain messuage with the buildings thereon, &c., in the town of Cambridge, in the parish of St Peter-without-Trumptonegate, between the land which was formerly Simon Asselof's on the one part and that which formerly belonged to Hugh le Rus, the son of Absalon, on the other part; which messuage indeed contained in length 42 ells from the Great Street to the grantor's croft, which is connected with the same tenement. There was to be paid annually, in half-yearly instalments, 3 shillings to the Nuns of the House of St Radegund of Grenecoft and two pairs of white gloves to the representatives of Thomas de Ho, who promised to maintain the agreement against all people, Christians or Jews, and who affixed his seal in the presence of certain witnesses—John le Rus, Reginald Sherewind, John Paternoster, Alan Basilie, Ebor' [Everard the clerk], and others. Affixed to the deed is the following Jewish quitclaim:

אני החתום מטה מורה שמומש דהוא פטור הוא וירשיו ממני ומירשיי
 הן מחובות וערבויות מבריות עולם עד משיינץ שנת ארבעים וחשע למלכות
 אדונינו המלך הנרי בן המלך יוהן ואם נמצא חלק בשמי ובשם מומש הנקר
 עד הזמן הנקר יהיה כקנין ומה שכתבתי חתמתי אברהם בן שמואל:

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 26.

A translation may be added: "I, the undersigned, do acknowledge that Thomas de Ho is quit he and his heirs from me and my heirs both from debts and liabilities from the creation of the world to (the festival of) All Saints (in the) year 49 of the reign of our lord the King Henry son of the King John, and if there shall be found a counterpart in my name and in the name of the aforesaid Thomas as to a previous period it shall be as nothing, and what I have written I have signed. Abraham son of Samuel."

Thomas de Ho, whose seal is appended, and who owned other property in this parish, was a man of some position in the county—"Thomas de Hoo, Chevalier," he is called in one record¹. Sabina, as we have seen, was then the wife of Peter de Wilburham; the neighbours were respectively an eminent lawyer, Simon de Ascellis² (whom we shall meet soon as dwelling³ in the stone-house of the le Rus family, and who subsequently entered the priory of Barnwell) and Hugh le Rus⁴ (who was a junior member of the family just mentioned and whose actual parentage is hereby discovered). The witnesses we shall all meet again and again in deeds of the period; while Abraham ben Shemuel⁵ appears in certain remarkable transactions recorded in the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews both at the beginning and at the end of the reign of Henry III. It is to be hoped that there may be a recovery of this solitary survivor of the thousands of Jewish Starrs and quitclaims that changed hands in early Cambridge days,—which after its long sleep of six or seven centuries awoke—to be lost!

More might be said of the contents and connexions of this interesting document, and more will be said of Jewish transactions in this neighbourhood, but we must return to the property of the widow Sabina, situated in the corner between

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 305.

² Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* pp. 73, 127, 128.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

⁴ See p. 42.

⁵ *Calendar of Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Hist. Soc.), pp. 19, 184; supposing these two references to refer to the same individual.



DEED, with Jewish Quitclaim (1265) attached.
From Peterhouse Treasury.



the churchyard of St Peter and the hostels of the scholars of the Bishop of Ely.

These are the northern and southern boundaries of the "messuage¹, with all its Buildings, Gardens, Courts, Curtilages, and other appurtenances," which in 1299 passed from Sabina to "Masters" Richard de Conytone and Herbert de Shepereth. The term *Magister* in these old Cambridge deeds almost always denotes a member of the University. The names of the first scholars or fellows of Peterhouse are not on record; but a comparison of the parties in other deeds in the same archives suggests that the grantees were representatives of our earliest collegiate foundation. The eastern and western boundaries are the King's way, i.e., Trumpington Street, and a tenement of the aforesaid scholars. There is an exception made in this transfer—of the house, containing in length 56 feet and in breadth 21 feet, which Sabina had purchased of Hugh le Rede on the south part of the messuage; this, however, passed between the same parties² in the following year.

Half a century later, in the year 1352-3, we find this property³ in the hands of Thomas de Wormenhale, "scholar" of the House of St Peter (who was subsequently Master of the college), and by him it was transferred to "Masters" William de Stanton, William de Boston, and Richard de Outeby. The two latter were fellows of Peterhouse, and the former was a brother of the allied Hospital of St John. Why the messuage was thus held in trust by certain members, rather than by the college in its corporate capacity, as in other deeds, is not known, but that we may speak of the estate as being Peterhouse property is fairly evident.

We can trace the ownership of this estate to a much earlier date. From the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ (1279) we learn that the first named of the nine sets of property in St Peter's parish which belonged to Sabina and her husband, John de Aylesham, paid a

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 3.

² *Ibid.* B. 11.

³ *Ibid.* C. 4.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 371, 2.

rent charge of 8*d.* to the priory of Barnwell. Turning to that very interesting work, *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*¹, lately edited by the Registry, we find in a list of the rents paid to the Prior (in the year 1295) by tenants in Cambridge, that, in the parish of "St Peter-extra-Trumpitone-gatis," "Johannes de Eylesham tenet unum mesuagium juxta ecclesiam Sancti Petri, et reddit .viij. d. et .ij. capones." The position and the amount identify this with the property with which we are now dealing. Returning to the *Hundred Rolls*, we read that Sabina had bought the messuage from Eustace Selede, who had entered upon it at the death of his brother Simon, to whom it has come by inheritance "ex antiqua successione parentorum suorum."

We will now proceed southwards, from the Hostels, along the Trumpington Road. One group of houses and land—that which accumulated into the hands of the Friars of the Sack (or *de Penitentia*)—has been admirably described in the first chapter of the first volume of the *Architectural History of Cambridge University* by Willis and Clark, and has been illustrated by a plan in their fourth volume. The information there given has been taken chiefly from deeds in the Treasury of Peterhouse; this we shall venture to summarize and to supplement from other records.

In the *Hundred Rolls*² we find the following description of this property about the year 1279:

"Item fratres de Sacco tenent quendam locum ubi inhabitant et ubi ecclesia eorum fundata cujus vero loci quandam partem habent de dono Ricardi de Heke Lingham in perpetuam elemosinam et aliam partem de perquisito et dono plurimorum. Et continet in se tres acras terre et amplius et habent confirmacionem de dicto loco de domino Henrico Rege patre domini Regis qui nunc est."

But this is rather official phraseology, for almost the same words are used by other Orders, as for instance in the case of the Carmelites across the river in the same parish. We must therefore turn to the "confirmatio" of Henry III. This "Manus mortua concessa Prioribus et Fratribus de Penitentia

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 289.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 360.

per Henricum regem pro area Collegii" is preserved in the Peterhouse Treasury, is reproduced in Willis and Clark (i. p. 72), and in Hayward's *Statutes of St Peter's College* (translated, p. 70), and is thus summarized in [Cooper's] *Cambridge Borough Report* (1850, p. 12), where some of the names are given more correctly than in the *Architectural History*.

"Henry III, by Letters Patent dated (at Woodstock) the 25th June, in the 52nd year of his reign [1268], confirmed to the Prior and Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, a certain area which they inhabited, near the Borough of Cambridge, without Trumpetongate, of the gift of divers, viz. John le Rus son of Maurice le Rus, of Cambridge, Hoel and Thomas the sons of John de Berton, Master Thomas son of Walter de St Edmund, Stephen le Bercher, Gilbert the son of Michael Bernard, Agnes who was the wife of John de Berton, Henry Pikerel, Simon son of John de Berton, and the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St John of Cambridge."

The Friars added certain tenements and land to these after the year 1268, as we shall presently see. Meantime let us trace back some of the properties given in the above catalogue.

The coming of the Friars of the Sack into England occurred in 1257, and in the following year we find them in Cambridge, where (it is recorded in the *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*¹)

"Emerunt principale mesuagium Johannis le Rus ex opposito capelle Sancti Edmundi, sed quia illud mesuagium fuit de feodo canonicorum de Bernewelle Prior Jolanus impediuit seysinam eorum etc. Tunc venit idem Johannes le Rus cum ipsis fratribus ad Priorem Jolanum, et cum lacrimis petiuit gratiam eius, et licenciam ut permitteret eos etc."

Then follows an account of the financial arrangement by which John le Rus secured the consent of the Barnwell authorities for the transference of the chief part of his estate to the Friars, with his stone-house, his private chapel, &c.; but this will be dealt with in the chapter on the History of the Le Rus family.

The large mansion, thus obtained, of course became the headquarters of the Friars, and its chapel is termed (as we have seen) their "ecclesia." Later on we read of the cemetery² of the Brethren.

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 218.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 25.

But other neighbours also welcomed the Friars. Some twenty old deeds in the Peterhouse Treasury tell of tenements and lands thus acquired. Three or four houses, partly in front of the le Rus property and partly to the south-east, on the Trumpington Road, may be instanced.

An important family, the head of which, John de Berton, had lately died, handed over¹ one of their houses, which was apparently the special property of two of the sons, Hoel and Thomas, but Agnes the widowed mother gave her formal consent, and Simon, another brother² (who was vicar of the church of St John Zachary, a church pulled down when King's College was built), surrendered a yearly rent of 40s., payable to him from the messuage in question. This house, we learn from the deeds, had formerly belonged to a citizen named Hervey Prippe³, whose sister we shall meet with later on as wife successively of John Paternoster and of Simon de Potton. Hervey and Margaret were the children of Simon the Carter⁴ (*Karettarius*), who had himself formerly owned the de Berton house and other property in the neighbourhood.

This house stood between the dwelling places of Stephen Barker (*Bercharius* or *Le Bercher*) and of Stephen Cooper (*le Coupere*). Barker, by the bye, seems to have been the first⁵ who followed the example of John le Rus, in favouring the Friars; he was imitated by the de Bartons.

Stephen Barker's house stood on the street front between that of John le Rus and that of Simon Carter, and abutted on the east on land belonging to the former. He had obtained it from a townsman named Henry Pickerell, who by marriage and by purchase had acquired several properties in the parish of St Peter-without-the-gates. This particular house he had bought of Richard Smereles. Documents⁶ preserved at Jesus

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 3, 4, 11.

² *History of Bottisham*, by Ed. Hailstone, C. A. S. xiv. p. 240.

³ *Ibid.* p. 229; there, and in *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 871), called Hervey Pippe, by mistake.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 4, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* A. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11; *Report of Cambridge Poor-Rate Committee* (C. H. Cooper), p. 12; *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 7.

⁶ *The Priory of St Radegund*, A. Gray, M.A., C. A. S. xxxi. p. 105.

College inform us that, in the early part of the thirteenth century, Richard Smerelles had as a neighbour one Richard Burs, a butcher, and that next to him there lived a man bearing the interesting name, Henry Scolemeister.

A chapter will be devoted later on¹ to the celebrated St Edmund's family on the east side of Trumpington Road, who were the rivals in many respects of the le Rus family on the west. But it may be here noted, that they were at one in welcoming the Friars; as may be seen from a deed² which states that "Master Thomas, son of Walter de St Edmund's, released to the Brethren of the Sack a yearly rental of eighteen pence and two capons, due from the messuage of Stephen Barker and Emma his wife."

A further striking instance of the cordiality with which the new Order was received is shown by two related deeds still preserved at St John's College and at Peterhouse respectively, as the successors of the thirteenth century property of the Hospital of St John and of the Friary of the Brethren of the Sack. These documents³, with the old seals, record the permission given by Robert of Huntingdon, master, and by the Brethren of the Hospital, to the Prior and the Brethren of Penitence to enlarge their borders "in *our* parish" (*ampliare locum suum in parochia nostra Sancti Petri extra Trumpington-gate*), as to two messuages on the south part, which were formerly in the possession of Simon the Carter (*Karettarius*) and Stephen the Shepherd (*Bercarius*).

There remains one name, that of Gilbert, son of Michael Bernard, in the 1268 catalogue⁴ of those who made release (*dimissio*) of their property to the Friars. His deed of conveyance is not among those preserved at Peterhouse, and therefore the position of his messuage cannot be exactly fixed; but it was doubtless near those just described, and this supposition is confirmed by references to the possessions of the

¹ See pp. 56—63.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 8.

³ *Ibid.* A. 19; St John's Treasury, "*St Peter's Parish*" deeds.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 11; *Borough Report*, p. 12.

Bernards in the *Hundred Rolls*¹ and in the records of St Radegund's².

We now turn to the properties acquired by the Friars after 1268. These consist of three strips of land³, situated on the north side of the le Rus estate, and stretching from the Trumpington Road to the marsh, or common pasture, known as Coe Fen. They were owned, respectively, proceeding northwards, by Stephen of Shelford, clerk, by William of Madingley, a carpenter, and by the warden of the Chapel of St Edmund's.

At this date, or perhaps a little earlier, William of Madingley transferred to John le Rus and Alice his wife "a selion of arable land at the rear of his messuage in the Croft, which reached from his close to the common pasture." When this land became the property of the Friars is not known; but certainly by 1270, for a deed of that year records the transference to them of the messuage and land which belonged to Stephen of Shelford, and locates it as "inter terras predictorum Fratrum ex utraque parte"—that is to say between the old le Rus family estate and the selion which John le Rus had obtained from William de Maddingley. This land, together with the tenement on the street front, we find about this date to have been transferred by one Robert de Cheshell, a tanner (who had somehow become possessed of it) to John Arnold of Trumpington. It is described as "mesuagium, cum crofta, etc., quod quondam fuit Willielmi filii Rogeri de Maddingle—inter terram Stephani clerici de Scheldeford et terram Roberti [de Horningsheth] de Capella [de Sancto Edmundo]." John Arnold soon afterwards—while Stephen of Shelford was his neighbour—passed to the Friars the messuage "quod emi de Roberto de Cheshille tannatore."

The said John Arnold also transferred to the said Friars one or two other properties adjacent on the north side to the said Cheshill parcel. Robert de Horningsheth, warden of the Chapel of St Edmund, had sold to them a messuage (or, perhaps, a rent-charge on a messuage), which had been given

¹ *Rot. Hund.* pp. 365, 371.

² Charter no. 308 (*C. A. S.* xxxi).

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 2, 12—19.

to his chapel by John de Ry, one of his predecessors in office. The warden had also passed to Arnold, in 1272, the messuage adjacent to the Cheshill property. It is described as "mesuagium quod Magister Walterus quondam filius Johannis clerici de Cautebrigia dedit...dicte Capelle cum corpore matris sue." The abutments are given as follows, "Jacet inter terram quam pater dicti Walteri tenuit de Galfrido potekyn et mesuagium quod fuit Roberti Crussekell...in longitudine, xxij pedes cum crofta retro dictum mesuagium et retro mesuagium quod fuit Roberti Crussekell...in latitudine, xlv pedes extendens se ad mariscum."

The family of John of Cambridge had other property to the north of that which they had given to the Church on the other side of the road; property which does not seem to have become part of the Friary; but before we describe this, we will return to the strip which belonged to Stephen of Shelford.

This had passed into the hands of his daughter Andreda and her husband Walter the Brewer (*le Brasur*), who before 1272 had delivered it for 8 marks of silver to the Friars, as we learn from a final Concord of that date between Walter and Roger of York (*de Ebor'*) prior of the order. The Brasurs describe it as "totum mesuagium nostrum cum crofta etc. quod quondam fuit Stephani Clerici de Shelford...inter terras predictorum Fratrum ex utraque parte, et extendit se in longitudine a magna strata usque ad communem pasturam." It paid a rent-charge of 2*d.* annually to Barnwell Priory.

This purchase apparently completes the large plot of land, with its stone house, its church, and various buildings, belonging to the Friary of the Brothers of Penitence; though there were probably one or two fields near which also belonged to them. They continued in possession thereof for the remainder of the century and about a decade beyond.

"Ipsi Fratres de Sacco congregaverunt multos et bonos scolares (we read in the *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, p. 218), et multiplicabantur nimis usque ad concilium Lugdunense." At this Council of Lyons¹, however, the Pope ordered the suppression of these and other minor orders.

They had been threatened before, and on June 9th, 1290,

¹ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 14.

Pope Nicholas IV sent a mandate¹ to the Archdeacon of Stow "to grant the place held by the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ, which they are about to leave, to the Master and Brethren of Sempringham...a fair price being paid for the said place, which is to be deposited in safety for the Holy Land Subsidy, or some other purpose as pleases the Pope." This order was not, however, carried out; the Friars remaining 17 years longer. In 1295, we find them obliging the scholars of St Peter's by an exchange of property², the latter receiving an acre of land to the west of their Hostels; Richard Mortimer, the provincial prior, of Lynn, acting for the Order, and Masters Robert Wynwick and John Malbranch being apparently representatives of the scholars.

In 1307, however, the dissolution took place, and we have several records of "the release³ by the Brethren of the Penance of Jesus to the Master and Scholars of St Peter, of the whole of their place, with the buildings, &c." It may be noted in connexion with this large accession of property to the College, that the formal sanction of the heirs of former owners was also obtained; for instance⁴ Hugh le Rus, of Hokington, in 1309, gave to Masters John de Herwardistock and Robert de Lyeling and they handed on to the College all the messuage which the Brethren had obtained half a century before from John le Rus—this was the building which the Friars had used as their dwelling-place (it had been "held in chief, in burgage, by the rent-service of one penny"). Again in the same year, Masters Rich. de Aylesham and John de ffelmingham gave to the College the messuage which before belonged to Peter the son of John Arnold of Trumpington. The relationship of the first named of these Peterhouse representatives to the heiress Sabina de Aylsham is not known; but the name of the scholar suggests a reason for the friendly dealings between the old family and the new college.

¹ Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. 514; Rose Graham, *St Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 44.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 6—8.

³ Peterhouse Old Register, p. 59.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 15—18.

Having thus noted the transfer of the property of the Friary to Peterhouse, let us return to the consideration of the other tenements and land on the west side of Trumpington Street, besides these estates and the Hostels and the little group of houses between them and the Church with which we have already dealt.

The question is not an easy one, for although in the archives of St John's and Pembroke, of Corpus and Jesus Colleges, there are a number of deeds referring to houses here and there in the parish of St Peter-outside-the-gates, and, although in the celebrated survey of 1279 almost every tenement and piece of land is severally specified, yet the *Hundred Rolls* do not give the abutments of the messuages. The exact positions, therefore, of the houses are frequently a matter of conjecture.

In dealing with the component parts of the Friary, we stated that the most northern portion of their property had been acquired from John Arnold of Trumpington and had formerly belonged to the family of John Clerk of Cambridge.

In the first of the admirable plans of the Colleges in the fourth volume of Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University*, the portion of frontage and of land in the rear between the Friary and the Hostels is assigned to Richard de Aylsham. But this identification appears to be a mistake. It is founded upon a statement in the deed¹ whereby Hugh le Rus sanctioned the transfer from the Friars to the representatives of the College of "totum illud mesuagium meum quod dicti Fratres habuerant de dono Johannis le Rus antecessoris mei." The property is said to lie "inter terram magistri Roberti de Wynwick ex parte australi et mesuagium Richardi de Aylesham et Johannis de ffelingham ex parte aquilonari." Now, if we consult the next deed² in the bundle of documents classified under the heading *Situs Collegii* in the Treasury of Peterhouse, it will be seen that the messuage which had passed to Richard de Aylesham and John de ffelmingham had formerly been the property of John Arnold of Trumpington—it was, in fact, as we have lately noticed, the northern portion of the Friary, and

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 15.

² *Ibid.* B. 16.

not the plots which intervened between the property of the Brothers and the Hostels.

We have therefore that part to deal with, as well as the district to the south of the le Rus, or Friary, estate.

The question is rendered the more difficult by the fact that some of the owners of houses and lands had possessions both to the north and the south of the Friary and to the west and the east of Trumpington Road; as well as by the frequency with which the properties changed hands.

The northernmost plot of the Friary had (as we have seen) passed to the Brethren through John Arnold of Trumpington from the warden of St Edmund's chapel, who had received it, as an endowment¹ in memory of his mother, from Master Walter, son of "John, clerk, of Cambridge." This family also held the next messuage and land—towards the town—which did not pass to the Friars.

John, clerk, of Cambridge, is sometimes styled "*Johannes scriptor*² de Cantebrig"; so that the word *clerk* in his case does not apparently refer, as so often, to a connexion with minor orders or with the University as a scholar; but to his profession as a writer. As a scribe or a lawyer he may have been an official in University circles, and we know that his son is described as "*Magister*³ *Walterus filius Johannis clerici de Cantebrig*," so that he was evidently a graduate. John, the father, held the messuage and land, to which we are referring, of Geoffrey Potekyn. We read in the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ of two properties which passed to his children, Walter and Matilda. That one of these was identical with, and the other adjacent to, the messuage and land in question, is a matter of conjecture. One is recorded to have been bought from Matilda by Thomas de Ho, and the other (which she inherited from her brother) passed to Alan Basilie. Now in a deed⁵ at Peterhouse, we are told of a messuage rented by Thomas de Ho which was situated between the tenements of Alan Basilie (Basily) and John Aylsham. This may confirm the conjecture.

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 14.

² *Ibid.* A. 17.

³ *Ibid.* A. 14.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 371, 2.

⁵ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 27.

Again, from some further Peterhouse documents¹, we learn that four sets of property—which had belonged respectively to William Inge, John and Sabina Aylsham, John de Brankestre, and Simon Sephare—followed one another consecutively, and were transferred to representatives of the new college. The transactions took place about the year 1295, a date which of course precedes the dissolution of the Friary; we may, therefore, suppose that the tenements would be as near as possible to Peterhouse.

If these conjectures be accepted, we have a set of tenements which would about carry us from the Hostels to the Friary.

Turning now to the houses and land *south* of the Friary, it may be remarked that we have already dealt with two or three messuages there; that there is considerable uncertainty as to the exact situation of houses which did not pass to Peterhouse or some other institution, and therefore that instead of making conjectures as to certain properties which the writer believes to have been situated in that neighbourhood, we will take one house and deal with it—and the points it suggests—in detail in the short chapter which follows this.

It may be added that the *lands* to the south will be alluded to later on.

The following remarks may also be made. Matthew Paris², under date 1257, says "Concessa est mansio fratribus *Bethleemites* in Cantabrigia, scilicet in vico qui ducit versus Trumpintonam." If this statement—which, however, is uncorroborated by any other evidence—is true, the house of the Friars of Bethlehem would perhaps stand somewhere near where we are now searching. But probably the chronicler is confusing them with the Friars of the Sack, who arrived in the following year, and, as we have detailed, settled here. This is the more likely as Matthew Paris (after describing the dress of the Bethlehemite Brothers) goes on to say: "Totque jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata."

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 8—5.

² *Hist. Angl.* ed. 1640, p. 949.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MESSUAGE OF HERVEY PRIPPE.

It was said, towards the end of the last chapter, that a house would be selected, and would be treated as an example of the messuages in this district and of the questions arising therefrom. We choose the house of Hervey Prippe, which is described in the *Hundred Rolls* in the following terms:

"Hervey Prippe¹ held a messuage, which he bought of the Prior and Convent of Anglesey, who had it of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, who inherited it on the death of his mother Amicia Godsol, who inherited it from her ancestors."

Now Hervey Prippe cannot have been a young man at the date of the *Hundred Rolls* (1279), for in two Peterhouse deeds² which are undated, but are certainly older than 1568 when Henry III confirmed³ the property mentioned therein to the Friars of the Sack, the de Barton family disposed of a house which had *formerly* belonged to Hervey Prippe. These deeds may have been drawn up soon after 1258, when the Friars began to acquire their Cambridge estate. Now the messuage mentioned in the extract from the *Hundred Rolls* had passed through several hands since the time of Amicia Godsol; and that lady had inherited it "ex successione hereditaria antecessorum suorum," which vague phrase carries us back doubtless to quite the beginning of the thirteenth century.

This is an illustration showing how our records tell us of the date of these messuages outside the Trumpington Gates;

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 371.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 3, 4.

³ *Ibid.* A. 11.

now let us notice how this same extract hints at the sites of the houses :

Here Hervey Prippe is said to have bought a certain property of the Prior of Anglesey ; while, if we turn to the description of the possessions of that convent, we find that most of it was situated opposite the Chapel of St Edmund's—the position of which will be seen to be that now occupied by Addenbrooke's Hospital. Hervey Prippe perhaps purchased this messuage when he handed over to the family of John de Berton the house which had been owned by himself and his father (Simon the Carter) before him ; and this house, as we learn from the Peterhouse deeds and as we may see in Mr J. W. Clark's plan¹, was situated where the south end of the Fitzwilliam Museum now stands. Yet again, we may gather from the order of mention in the *Hundred Rolls* that Hervey Prippe's messuage was near the property of Thomas, the son of Edmund the Miller, who had bought his estate from Richard Timpon, who had it on the death of his father William Timpon, who had it *ex antiqua emptione*. Now we learn from the document (xv. 112 in the *Miscellaneous Charters* in the Augmentation Office) quoted on pp. 11, 12, that the Prior and Convent of Anglesey had quit-claimed Thomas, "a servant of the University of Cambridge, and Matilda his wife, of all right in two messuages in Mill Street, receiving in exchange one messuage in Trumpington Street between the land of Richard Tunpan and Hervey Prippe." So that we have here an introduction to another neighbour of the latter, and a confirmation of the proximity of the families mentioned.

And the same references to Hervey Prippe bring out other features which will be noticed in these pages—the connexions with the University, the benefactions to churches and monasteries, the family relationships, &c.

For instance, Thomas, "a servant of the University of Cambridge," mentioned in the deed was Thomas de Tuddenham, a well-known University Bedel, and his wife Matilda de Walda²

¹ *Arch. History*, vol. iv. 2.

² *Cambridge Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 48 ; Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 65.

was the wealthy lady, from whom Michael House (and its successor Trinity College) obtained the advowson of St Michael's Church; whilst Master Robert de Bytering¹, whose name is linked with these two in the fine quoted on p. 65, and again referred to on p. 78, was also linked with them for centuries in the public Academic Prayers as a benefactor of the University. Further it will be seen that John Paternoster, the brother-in-law of Hervey Prippe, was the owner of a celebrated hostel.

Again, we not only learn from the same deed how the Prior of Anglesey became possessed of this property and of the rent-charge which Hervey Prippe paid to them, but we read the interesting fact that a prominent and well-to-do citizen Robert Hubert himself became a canon of the convent.

Again, these records bring before us various members of the family. The father Simon the Carter (*Karettarius, le Chareter*) was an old neighbour of the le Rus family chronicled in our next chapter; his son Hervey Prippe we are now dealing with, and his daughter Margaret married first John Paternoster, whose hostel (called after his name) is often alluded to. After his death, she married Simon Potton, a citizen whose name figures in various old deeds. Sabina Paternoster, a daughter of the first marriage, is also similarly mentioned.

This treatment of the possessions of Hervey Prippe, and of questions arising therefrom, illustrates the information which may be obtained from these documents and deeds. It must, however, be admitted that the omission of boundaries and measurements in the *Hundred Rolls*, &c., prevents many of the messages mentioned therein from being mapped out with that exactitude which is possible in the case where a consecutive series of deeds relating to adjacent properties is carefully preserved as in Peterhouse and Pembroke.

¹ *Cambridge Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 63; *Missa pro Benefactoribus*, Stokes's Book in the Univ. Registry.

CHAPTER V.

THE LE RUS FAMILY.

A SPECIAL section must be devoted to a family of considerable importance, whose large, stone house¹ off the Trumpington Road (near where the Fitzwilliam Museum now stands) must have been somewhat conspicuous in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates during the period with which we are dealing.

The family was known by the name of le Rus, or Ruffus, or le Rede, or le Redere. We shall have to refer to at least five generations, beginning in the twelfth century and continuing into the fourteenth.

Eustace² of Maddingley is the first of them whom we meet with, though whether he was connected with our parish is not certain. His son Albric Ruffus³ is included in the Cambridge *Amercement* List of 1177, where he is rated at 13s. 4d.; he is also later on commemorated, in the *Cartulary* still preserved in the archives of St John's College, as a Benefactor of the old Hospital which possessed the advowson of St Peter's Church in Trumpington Street. He seems, however, to have got into the hands of Jewish money-lenders; and in the *Plea Rolls*⁴ of the Exchequer of the Jews, we find several references to his estate. Thus, in the Hilary Term of 1220, we read of a Mandate issued to the Sheriff of Cambridge "that he summon Morice Ruff', John de Litlebir', Everard de Trumpiton, Robert de Madingle,

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

² *Cartulary* in the Treasury of St John's College.

³ Pipe Roll, 23 Henry II, m. 10. d; Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 171.

⁴ *Calendar*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Historical Society), pp. 31, 53, etc.

Henry le Taliur, William Bainard, to be before the Justices at Westminster on the octave of St John, to show by what warrant they entered upon the lands late of Albric de Madingle, which are gages of the King, and that he inquire how much each of them hold and for how long he have held it, &c."

Later on in the same year, the same Rolls record another mandate to the Sheriff, that by view of lawful men he take into the King's hand the lands late of Albric, which are held by the above-mentioned Maurice Ruff', &c., and which are :

"gages for a debt of the said Albric on Jewish account, the said tenants having made default in the King's Court on the octave of St John the Baptist, and that he do the Justices to wit of the day of caption on Wednesday next after the quindene of the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that he summon the said tenants for the said day and place to show why they made default of appearance or essoinment on the octave of St John the Baptist."

Somewhat later, but still in 1220, we find reports as to these tenants; that which concerns Maurice le Rus reading as follows :

"Morice Ruff" goes quit of the debt that is demanded of him on account of the debt of Albric de Madingle, for that the inquest testifies that the 20 acres of land late of the said Albric, which he, Morice, holds, have been held by him and his father for 28 years, and the term of the loan is 15 yrs."

So three or four other of the tenants go quit; one of them—Geoffrey de Madingle—affirms that he held his share before Alberic had seisin of the said land; while other two of them—John de Litlebir' and Henry le Taliur—having again made default of appearance, their lands are to be retained in the King's hand by the Sheriff, and that officer is to "cause all the corn found thereon to be gathered together and kept safe, and he shall be answerable for the value."

For nearly a quarter of a century from this date (1220—1244, 5), the *Plea Rolls* of the Exchequer of the Jews are unfortunately missing; otherwise we should doubtless find further references as to the dealings of the le Rus family with Hebrew money-lenders; for we shall in Cambridge documents find incidental allusions to such transactions.

Maurice Ruffus, like his father Albric, was a Benefactor to the Hospital of St John, and that on more than one occasion. For instance, when Eustace, Bishop of Ely, arranged a composition¹ between the Hospital and All Saints' Church, on the convent of St Radegund granting free and pure chantry and free sepulture to the former, Maurice and two other citizens each granted to the Nuns, 12*d.* (arising out of land in the parish of St John Zachary) "to recompense them for any loss which may result to All Saints' Church out of the common land on which the Hospital of St John is situated." The witnesses to the deed included Eustace, Bishop of Ely, R. Barre, Archdeacon of Ely, William, Prior of Barnwell, Fulk, son of Teobald, &c. A consideration of these names fixes the date at about 1208. In this case both the Hospital and the Nunnery were benefited.

Again, as Professor Maitland pointed out in his delightful book *Township and Borough* (pp. 171—3), the Cartulary of St John's contains a copy of a singularly interesting deed which again reveals Maurice le Rus as a Benefactor of the Hospital. This *Carta Mauricii Ruffi de quindecim acris terre et de quadam terra in Judaismo* is given in full in Maitland, who says "it seems to come from King John's day or thereabouts." It commences as follows:

Sciunt etc. quod ego Mauricius Ruffus de Cantabrigie dedi et concessi et hac mea carta confirmavi in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum Deo et Hospitali Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Cantabrigie illam medietatem tocius terre mee in Judaismo de Cantabrigie, que medietas est versus portam de Bernewelle, et preterea quindecim acras terre in campis de Cantabrigie ex utraque parte aque—

a lengthened description of the plots of land following. The witnesses are *Domini* Peter de Niwenham, John de Ry and Hugo, chaplains, *Magister* Walter de Wylburham, Hervey son of Eustace, Robert Seman, Adam, son of Eustace, &c. It will be noted that Maurice had again had dealings with the Jews. The Johnian Cartulary also contains a ratification by John le Rus of his father's benefaction: "Confirmatio Johannis Ruffi

¹ *Priory of St Radegund*, C. A. S. xxxi. p. 109.

de medietate predictæ terre in judaismo et de predictis quindecim acris terre," whereby we see that the money-lenders had still a lien on the part which was situated "versus portam de Bernewelle."

The residence of Maurice Rus on the west side of the Trumpington Road must have been one of the chief dwelling-places in Cambridge—though it was rivalled by the mansion of the St Edmund's family across the street, where Addenbrooke's Hospital now stands. Each of these estates had its large house and court, its chapel and its cemetery; while the respective owners were renowned for their generosity and benefactions, and for their patronage of religious churches and societies. At the coming of the Friars, the brethren found a welcome (as we shall see) on both sides of the Trumpington Road. Indeed both estates passed eventually entirely into the hands of the new-comers; the Friars of the Sack succeeding to the property of the le Rus family and the Canons of Sempringham occupying the St Edmund's estate.

Stone houses were rare in those days, but the le Rus family rivalled the Jews from whom they borrowed money, by imitating them in the material of which their house was built. In their court they built a chapel dedicated to the honour of *St Lucy*. The property being in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Trumpington Gates, and that church being in the patronage of the Hospital of St John—indeed the Prior and the brethren were accustomed to speak of St Peter's as *parochia nostra*—there was, of course, no difficulty in obtaining permission for this ecclesiastical independence. Baker¹ quotes from an old Register at St John's a deed entitled "Concessio Rectoris Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Mauritio Ruffo et heredibus suis Cantarie in Capella sua in parochia Sancti Petri extra portam Trumpington." The witnesses to this grant included: Laurence, Prior of Barnwell, and Magister Richard of Leicester, Chancellor of the University.

The date of the death of Maurice le Rus is not known; but in the year 1232, there is a record² among the *Fines* relating

¹ MSS. xix. (7046), p. 227.

² *Camb. Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 16.

to the County of Cambridge: "William de St Edmund and Alice his wife by Walter his son *v.* John Ruffus in Cantabr." This suggests that John was now the head of the great family on the west side of Trumpington Road; it is to be hoped that it does not imply a quarrel with the great house on the east side. If this was the case, the misunderstanding was not lasting; for some time after, we read that John le Rus was the donor¹ of two acres and three roods of land to Robert, rector of the Chapel of St Edmund; while (as we shall see later on) the St Edmund's family will figure as benefactors to those *protégés* of John, the Friars of the Sack.

The following curious document², preserved at Peterhouse, relates, it will be seen, to the private chapel of St Lucy in the court of the le Rus estate:

"Christinus miseratione divina Lymiticensis ecclesie humilis minister ...omnibus quorum Diocesani hanc nostram ratam habuerint Indulgentiam, concedit intrantibus capellam in curia Johannis Rufi extra portam de Trumpeton, in honorem Beate Lucie Grantebrigie erectam, et dicentibus orationem dominicam semel pro Episcopo Helyensi Episcopo Sarum, et universis Regni hujus Episcopis, secundo pro ecclesia Helyensi et Sarum et eorum Benefactoribus et pro statu Ecclesie Anglicane et Regni, tertio pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum xx dies misericorditer relaxat: Dat: Grantebrig: an: 1245."

The present writer has been unable to identify the Bishop's official or Suffragan Bishop who issued this licence; which, however, testifies either to the religious zeal of John le Rus, or to the notoriety of his private chapel.

Turning to his civic life, it may be noted that John Ruffus was an active townsman, whose name appears in the list of Mayors³ of Cambridge, and who often figures as a witness in various legal and other transactions. Beside the family estate, with which we are dealing, he was connected with several other properties in the neighbourhood, holding houses and land on both sides of the Trumpington Road. He was also possessed, as we shall see, of a horse-mill⁴ (*molendinum equicium*) in Milne

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 372.

² Peterhouse Treasury, F. 1.

³ Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 134.

⁴ Barnwell *Liber Memorandum*, p. 160.

Street, where part of King's College is now situated. He does not, however, seem to have been so prosperous as these statements might imply; for we find him, like his father and grandfather, having recourse to the Jews, and he appears to have let his principal house, which indeed he eventually sold.

The last-mentioned transactions may be referred to in detail.

From the *Plea Rolls*¹ of the Exchequer of the Jews, in the Easter Term of 1253, we find that "John le Rus offered himself on the fourth day against Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, touching a plea of account. Isaac making default of appearance, let the writ issue again, and let him come on the octave of Holy Trinity, and let the Sheriff [Simon de Hockton] be present to hear his judgment; and Isaac of Senlis, Josce of Wilton, and Aaron Le Blund, Isaac's mainperners, are in mercy." John Ruffus seems, therefore, to have got the better of this affair; but it is to be feared that, if some of the *Plea Rolls* of that date were not lost, the record might be different.

He himself was apparently residing² in an unpretentious house on his estate (*parvum mesuagium*), separated by walls from his principal mansion, which was a large stone house (*magnum mesuagium lapideum*). In this house was dwelling a well-known and remarkable man, Simon de Ascellis³; who, having graduated in arts in the University of Oxford, had proceeded to read law at Cambridge. He held various positions of importance, among others that of official of the Bishop of Ely—Hugh de Balsham, the founder of Peterhouse. During a period, however, of illness and infirmity, he became a member of the Priory of Barnwell. Recovering his strength, he proved himself so useful in various capacities, that on the death of Jolan, he was elected head of that celebrated monastery, over which he ruled for more than 30 years (1265—1297).

Returning to the Stone House, which Simon de Ascellis had deserted for the Barnwell Monastery, it should be remarked that, somehow or other, the fee⁴ of that mansion had passed

¹ *Calendar*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Hist. Soc.), p. 119.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

³ *Ibid.* A. 9, 26; Barnwell Lib. Mem. pp. 73, 128.

⁴ Barnwell Lib. Mem. p. 218.

into the hands of the Canons of that Priory; it may be that Simon himself had something to do with the transaction.

Of this we are reminded when we turn to the following striking and characteristic incident in the times of the coming of the Friars. Among the minor orders of these remarkable men, there arose a body calling themselves "the Friars of the Sack, or *De Penitentia*," "because their dress was cut without other form than that of a simple bag or sack, and made of coarse cloth, like sackcloth." A band of these Brethren¹ arrived in England about 1257, and in the following year some of these proceeded to Cambridge. Entering the University town from the south by the Trumpington Road, one of the first buildings which they would notice was the Stone House of John le Rus. The interesting Friars would appeal to the religious feelings of the owner of that mansion, and if, as is probable, he was anxious to let the building, we cannot be surprised at what followed; an account of which may best be given in the graphic words of that entertaining volume, *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (p. 218), which thus relates how the Friars of the Sack "bought a messuage from John le Rus, and effected a friendly arrangement with Prior Jolan in 1258":

"Fratres de penitencia Jhesu Christi emerunt principale mesuagium Johannis le Rus ex opposito capelle Sancti Edmundi, sed quia illud messuagium fuit de feodo canonicorum de Bernewelle Prior Jolanus impediuit seysinam eorum etc. Tunc venit idem Johannes le Rus cum ipsis fratribus ad Priorem Jolanum, et cum lacrimis petiuit gratiam eius, et licenciam ut permitteret eos etc. Et fecit quoddam scriptum obligatorium anno domini .m^o.cc^o.lvii^o, in quo recognovit se teneri in .xxviij. solidis .xj. denariis annui redditus etc., et obligavit molendinum equicum suum in Milnestrate etc."

There are several deeds and conveyances still existing, in connexion with the transfer of property thus obtained by the tears and the bond of John le Rus; not to mention the Royal Licence² afterwards obtained in ratification of the estate thus acquired, and afterwards extended, by the Friars of Penance.

We are not told what alterations were made by these

¹ Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 241.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 11.

Brethren. Doubtless the principal mansion was spacious enough to accommodate at least the first arrivals; but we may assume that they proceeded to enlarge the private chapel, for we find in one¹ of the deeds permission is specially granted "ad construendam ecclesiam in dicto tenemento in honore Jesu Christi et sue beate Matris"; and indeed the chapel is henceforth described as an *ecclesia*. But the family of le Rus made a stipulation² about the offering of a certain quantity of wax for the sustenance of a light before the altar of St Lucy on the day dedicated to that saint, "dum celebratur servitium beate lucie virginis eodem die." Later on, the cemetery³ of the Friars is mentioned.

John le Rus and Alice his wife seem to have been childless, and to have adopted as their heir a nephew, Hugh le Rus⁴, the son of Gilbert le Rus of Heckington (or Hokyton, or Oakington), in which village he and his wife held property under the Prior of Barnwell. The date of the death of John le Rus is not known, but it occurred before 1279, as in that year there is dated a "covenant⁵ between Dame Alice, relict of John le Rus, and the Brethren of the Penance of Jesus, at Cambridge, as to their place of abode."

It may be mentioned that there was another branch of the family living more to the north side of the town, near the great bridge; the head of which was named Auger⁶ le Rus. His son Robert (who is styled *Magister*, and was therefore probably a member of the University) gave⁷ to his kinsman on the south some 15 acres of land lying in two cultures, one in the Trumpington fields and the other "ad capud ville de Cantebrig' ab opposito Capelle Sancti Edmundi." Alice, the widow, surrendered her claim in this property to Hugh the nephew. If he is the same individual as Hugh le Rede, as is very probable, he resided in a house⁸ next to the Peterhouse hostels.

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 2.

² *Ibid.* A. 9. ³ *Ibid.* B. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* B. 15; Barnwell Lib. Mem. pp. 161, 219; Rot. Hund. ii. 367.

⁵ Wren's Inventory, Peterhouse; Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, i. p. 78.

⁶ Rot. Hund. ii. pp. 358, 367, 8.

⁷ Cole MS. vol. xii.

⁸ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9.

Hugh le Rus, like the rest of the family, seems at times to have been in pecuniary difficulties. Three paragraphs in the interesting Barnwell Book¹ edited by the Registry give a remarkable description of how the Prior was entitled (as we have already seen) to a rent from the mill² of John le Rus, and how on his death his successor and nephew Hugh, seeing the mill ruinous and burdened with a heavy rent, removed parts thereof to the hostel of Guy Mortimer, so that the Prior lost his dues. There follows a curious quotation from the Assize Roll of Trinity Term, 1286, giving a record of an action brought by the Barnwell authorities for the recovery of the rent. Hugh le Rus did not appear, but his friend pleaded that the mill had been partly demolished in an early "Rag," certain University-men (*quidam clerici universitatis Cantebrigie*) having carried off portions of the spoil! A verdict, however, was given in favour of the Prior.

As the 12th century closes, we have a record³ telling us how Sabina the rich widow of John of Aylesham purchased some of the property which still remained in the hands of Hugh. After this transaction we hear no more of the varied fortunes of the le Rus family.

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 161.

² This mill was (as noted above, pp. 39, 40) in Milne Street; whose name is sometimes said to import that it led to the Mills on the river. But this is surely a mistake; for it led to Small Bridges Street. It was doubtless called Milne Street because it contained the mill mentioned in the text and another mill belonging to Corpus (Hailstone's *Bottisham*, p. 293).

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," B. 11.

CHAPTER VI.

TRUMPINGTON ROAD. THE EAST SIDE.

WE now return to St Botolph's Church, or rather to the Trumpington Gates, and proceed thence systematically southwards along the east side of the King's Highway.

The first one hundred and more yards of the Road are at present occupied by the various frontal buildings of Pembroke. In the Master's Lodge of that College, there is a set of volumes¹, most elaborately compiled by the late Dr Ainslie. These writings are admirably summarised in the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, where they are illustrated by a well-drawn plan. But Messrs Willis and Clark are, of course, dealing with the 14th century and onwards; whereas we have to endeavour to realise the circumstances of the 13th.

Documents in the Treasuries of St John's, Peterhouse, Pembroke and Corpus have therefore been consulted² in the hope of tracing backward the history of some of the properties.

Beginning at the corner of what is now Pembroke Street—formerly called (among other names) "Plot and Nuts Lane," it will be remembered that the parish of St Botolph stretches for some 30 or 40 feet down the Trumpington Road. The house standing upon this corner site was that which in the year 1346 was purchased³ from Hervey de Stanton, rector of Elm, by the Countess who founded and gave her name to the College. The

¹ The present writer is much indebted to the Master of Pembroke for his courtesy in allowing him to consult these volumes on several occasions.

² The writer is grateful to the authorities of these Colleges for their kind courtesy.

³ *Registrum Magnum*, Pembroke Coll. i. 21; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 122.

property had previously belonged to Master Robert de Brigham¹ and Matilda his wife; and in the year following the Stanton transaction, a fine was levied in the Town Court at the Guildhall between the Countess and the Brighams, confirming the transfer—"et pro hac recognicione, remissione quieta clamancia fine et concordia predicta Maria dedit predictis Roberto et Matilda unum Esperuarium sorum." The fact that Robert de Brigham and Hervey de Stanton were members of the University doubtless facilitated the contracts.

The Brighams had obtained the property from Henry de Eversdon and Elena his wife in the year 1336, as is evidenced by another fine levied in the same Court.

Master Hervey de Stanton had also to obtain the consent of John de Berton in connexion with the acquisition of the messuage, as he previously had sought the permission of another John de Berton, uncle of the former.

The de Bertons were a well-known Cambridge family, with property in various parts of the town. We have already dealt with a messuage on the west side of the road belonging to the uncle here named, and the *Hundred Rolls* (1279) speak of property held by them in St Botolph's parish.

We now come to the parish of St Peter-outside-the-Gates (now called St Mary-the-Less), which on the east side of the Trumpington Road reached from the present gate of Pembroke College to just beyond what is now called Fitzwilliam Street.

The first messuage was one of singular interest, both because the deeds relating to it date back to the 12th century and because it was one of the earliest possessions of the University, in whose hands it remained for upwards of a century until it was handed over in 1351 to the new College of Pembroke.

An early document² preserved at that college tells how "Fabianus Capellanus filius Rogeri Capellani" granted to

¹ C. H. Cooper, *C. A. S.* v. p. 169. This Robert de Brigham was doubtless the brother of St Mary's Gild, whose name occurs among the Benefactors of Corpus Christi College. Josselin's *Historiola*, *C. A. S.* xvii. 37; Masters's *History of C. C. C.* p. 60; *Camb. Gilds*, *C. A. S.* xxxix. 23, 24, 97, 134, 185.

² Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 1 (formerly A. 16).

the Church of St Giles of Barnwell and the canons thereof "quoddam mesuagium apud Cantebrug' extra portam de Trumpit' illud scilicet quod jacet inter terram Thome Doi et inter terram quam Humfrid' tenuit de ecclesia sancti Petri." The seal of Fabianus Capellanus is appended, and the following witnesses attested the deed: Bartholomew Chaplain, Robert Seman, Maurice Ruffus, Absalon "filius sacerdotis," Hervey Gogging, Richard de Barnwell, Walter son of Master Geoffrey, Roger Prat, Richard Saladin, Robert son of Basilie, Eustace de Banz, and many others. These names suggest a date about the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

After a while the Barnwell authorities conveyed¹ the property back to William and Richard the sons of Fabian Capellanus and to Havise and Margaret his daughters. The Prior of Barnwell who granted the conveyance was William [of Devon], who presided over the canons from 1208 to 1213, and the witnesses include Batholomew Chaplain, Hugh of St John's, Absolon "filius sacerdotis," Maurice Ruffus, Hervey Gogging and Michael his son, William Wulsi, and John Lance.

The document was, in later times, endorsed "Universitas Cantebr' tenet," "Johannes Michaelis tenet," "Clerici de Pembrok Hall tenent"; "unde sciendum (says a note) quod Camera Magna ex parte australi Magne Porte juxta Viam Regium in Trumpiton Str. est sita super fundum quondam Fabiani presbyteri."

Fabian's children passed the property over to the Hospital of St John (though the present writer has not seen the deeds of conveyance); and Richard [de Cheverel], Master of the Hospital, &c., granted it to Henry, son of Henry le Daubur. The estate is described as "totum mesuagium nostrum...inter mesuagium Walteri Bagge et mesuagium Margarete Goggyng." Besides a sum paid, a perpetual rent of two shillings was charged. The witnesses include Hugh son of Aspolon, John "Carnifex," William de Cotes, Walter Lord [of Berton], Simon "ad molendinum," Ambrose de Newnham, Martin Brithnoth, Reginald Sherewind, Simon Cheverel and Thomas Hardy. Copies of this Carta pro annuali redditu Sancti Johannis

¹ Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 2.

Cantabrig' are preserved¹ at both St John's and Pembroke Colleges.

The property afterwards passed into the hands of Roger de Heydon, but when and how the transfer took place is not known—there are no documents at Pembroke relating to the transaction. Cole the antiquary, however, in one of his volumes, transcribes a very curious deed², which he says was lent to him by Mrs Chettoe, the widow of Dr Charles Mason. It is entitled "Carta feoffans Dominum Rogerum Colyn per Herveu Gogind (sic) de Domibus extra Portam de Troppington (sic) versus Molendinum": and tells how Hervey son of John Goging gave to Roger Colin de Hedon for five silver marks

"totam illam terram cum edificiis inter terram quondam Simonis Bagge et terram Ouberni filii Colini Wambe in parochia Sancti Benedicti Cantebr' extra fossatum ville ex occidentali parte Porte que dicitur Trumpeton Gate et extendit se a via super Fossatum usque terram quondam Walteri de Sancto Eadmundo, etc."

The witnesses include Peter de Wilburgham, Peter de Welles, William Elyot, Robert de Maddingle, Colin Morier (?), Hervey "Mercator," Walter and Simon his brothers, Reginald Scherwynd, John son of Michael Gogging, John Martin (?), &c.

Whether Roger de Heydon (who is sometimes called "Dominus Heiddon Miles") is the same as Dominus Roger Colyn de Hedon is a question, and whether the property mentioned in this deed is the same as the messuage with which we are dealing is also uncertain; some of the "buttings and boundings" do not tally, though there are several points of similarity.

At any rate the tenement passed into the possession of Roger de Heydon. By that benefactor the property³ was given to the University, together with another building⁴ in St Benet's

¹ Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 3; *Cartulary* in St John's College Treasury.

² Cole, B. M. MS. vol. 5813, p. 236 b.

³ Pembroke Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 4; *Registrum Librorum*, University Register; Baker MS. xxxi. p. 326; *Chaplains of the Univ.*, C. A. S. xli. pp. 3, etc.

⁴ Caius College Treasury, i. 13; *Historiola C. C. C.*, Josselin, edited by J. W. Clark, M.A., C. A. S. xvii. p. 59; Baker MS. xxix. p. 276.

parish, near where the Chapel of Corpus Christi College now stands. The date of the gift is not known; but it was before the compilation of the *Hundred Rolls* (1279). Dr Ainslie asserts that "the University held this messuage under lease before it was given them by Roger de Haydon," apparently founding this statement on the indorsement mentioned above: "*Universitas Cantebr' tenet.*"

This tenement¹ remained in the hands of the University—being known as "*Hospitium Universitatis Cantebrigie*"—during the remainder of the thirteenth century, and for more than half of the fourteenth—until 1351, on the 11th day of December of which year, Richard de Lyng, the Chancellor, and the assembly of Master Regent and Non-Regent conveyed it to the Keeper and Scholars of the Hall of the Countess of Pembroke—that lady making a covenant with the University authorities on the following day. The building is described² as having been acquired by the University "*ex dono et feoffamento quondam Rogeri de Haydon, et jacet dictum messagium inter messuagium quondam Johannis de Holm ex parte australi et messuagium predictorum Custodis et Scholarium ex parte boriali.*" Pembroke was annually to pay a rose on the day of the Nativity of St John the Baptist; and, by the terms of the covenant, a fit chaplain was "*in missis suis cotidianis*" to recommend and remember the soul of Roger de Haydon, and yearly to commemorate the anniversary-day of the said Benefactor³ in the parish Church of St Mary-the-Less (by which title St Peter's was now called).

It may be added that 20 years later⁴ the Prior of Barnwell released a rent of 9*d.*, and the Master of St John's Hospital

¹ Fuller's *History*, edited by Prickett and Wright, p. 60; Cole MS. xii. p. 184.

² Pembroke College Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," C. 4; Baker MS. xxvi. pp. 96, 97.

³ Baker MS. xxvi. pp. 96, 97. Sir Roger de Haydon was the donor of a book to Pembroke College; see Dr Corrie's List of Books at Pembroke (*C. A. S.* x. 21), though neither he nor the Provost of King's recognizes one of the earliest of Cambridge Benefactors. The *Gradual* which was thus received "*ex dono Domini Heiddon Militis*" was long preserved in the College; but it is now lost, and the memory of the donor forgotten.

⁴ Dr Ainslie's Book in the Master's Lodge, p. 10.

the rent of 2s., which they had for so long received from the messuage.

This is not the place to record the subsequent history of the buildings, and of those which succeeded them; but it may be remarked, as indeed has already been pointed out, that the old University Hostel seems to have included a large room¹ (*camera magna*) on the south side of the great gate, at the south-west corner of the buildings on the Trumpington Road.

Proceeding with the tenements southwards, there is some difficulty in identifying the properties mentioned in the numerous deeds which are still preserved—for the messuages changed hands very frequently, and some persons owned more than one portion, while certain records are lost, and some refer to plots of land and others to buildings. But doubtless Dr Ainslie's order of the next few houses may be accepted.

We need not here refer to meadows or orchards to the east of the frontal buildings, nor to one or two tenements which perhaps stood upon those plots of land.

Next to the University Hostel was a messuage afterwards known as Cosyn's place—"quod ante fuerat Beatricis Cosyn," says a Pembroke note². The abuttals mentioned in the Haydon building tell us that our messuage was formerly held by John de Holm, and previously by some of the Gogging family, and, away back in the days of Fabian Capellanus, Humfridus dwelt there, being a tenant of St Peter's Church across the road. It is not necessary here to trace the later history of "Cosyn's Place"; but it may be mentioned that, in the year 1351, William de Horwod and Simon de Sleaford gave to John de Wystowe and Margaret his wife the messuage, quod quidem messuagium habuimus de dono et feoffamento Johannis de Holm de Cantebrig'. It is said to be situated "inter tenementum pertinens universitati ex una parte et tenementum Cantarie Beate Marie ecclesie Sancti Petri ex altera parte; et abutatur super viam regiam et super venellam que ducit usque

¹ Pembroke College, "Situs Collegii," C. 2. See also an interesting note on the rebuilding (in later times) "of the old hall of the University Hostel"; Baker MS. vii. (7084), p. 185.

² Baker MS. vii. (7084), pp. 178, 9.

Swynescroft." It subsequently passed through the hands of certain burgesses and of various trustees—including some well-known University officials—before it became the property of the scholars of Pembroke.

In "the buttings and boundings" just quoted the next building going southwards is a tenement of the Chantry of St Mary belonging to the Church of St Peter. This, however, was not founded till a later date than that with which we are dealing, if it be that endowed¹, in the year 1348, 9, by John Cotton, John Blancpaine, and others. (The first-named of these founders was, it will be remembered, the owner of a mansion on the other side of the road, to the north of St Peter's Church.) The tenement which was thus attached to the Chantry had formerly belonged to Robert Codeham, and before his time to William Godlamb; while in the former part of the 13th century, in the time of Fabian, it had formed part of the property which Humfridus held under the Church of St Peter.

A narrow lane² separated this messuage from the next tenement, which much later on was known as "Knapton Place." It is described as "a messuage with a croft," and a long list of occupiers is preserved, including the aforesaid John de Holme, William Wyatt, Thomas Young, and—"diu ante"—Robert Winhose "of Grant-brigg." This is thought by Dr Ainslie and others to be the same as "Bolton Place"; but some of the deeds³ seem to deal with them as distinct properties. The above-mentioned John Wistow is stated to have been a former occupier of "Bolton Place."

The next messuage was a celebrated building, which was for generations known as "St Thomas's Hostel."

This property in the former part of the 13th century had belonged⁴ partly to Peter the chaplain of Newnham and partly to Matilda the wife of Nigellus Hareng—by whom, in her widowhood, her share was given to the Hospital of St John. The messuage is said to lie between land which had belonged

¹ Baker MS. vii. (7034), pp. 178, 9.

² Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 124, n. 1.

³ Baker MS. vii. (7034), pp. 178, 9.

⁴ St John's Treasury, St Peter's Parish Deeds.

to Fabian Presbyter and land of Walter the son of Simon. The witnesses to the deed of gift were Robert Seman, Adam son of Eustace, Michael and John sons of Hervey, Martin Brithnoth (the above-mentioned), Walter son of Simon, Robert of St Edmund's, John "filius Decani" and William "de Hybernia." The Prior and Brethren of St John's Hospital owned the property for more than two centuries until the year 1451, when Laurence Booth¹ was head of Pembroke College, that master

"dimissionem obtinet a fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Evangeliste tenementi cujusdam hic in vicino ad 80 annos inde, et deinde ad 80 alios; sicque quamdiu Magistro et sociis nostris videbitur, pro quo etiamnum solvimus Collegio Divi Joannis annuatim xiiis. ivd."

For more than four centuries and a half, the same rent has been paid by Pembroke to St John's. The abuttals in 1451 are given as: N., a tenement of the College or Hall of Valence; S., a tenement of St John's Hospital; E., Swincroft; W., the King's Highway.

It will have been noticed, in the statement as to the southern boundary of St Thomas's Hostel, that the adjacent property also belonged to St John's Hospital. A late record², under date 1531, refers to this same property. It is a deed of feoffment of a messuage in St Mary's without Trumpington Gates, sold by Nicholas Metcalf, D.D., Master of St John's, &c., to Thomas Goldsborough of Cambridge, Matthew Watson, B.A., fellow of the College of Mary Valence or Pembroke Hall, John Chapman, burgess of Cambridge, Richard Johnson and Andrew Young of the same town. The messuage lay between

"Saynt Thomas hostell ex parte boreali, et tenementum pertinens Cantarie beate Marie virginis in Cemeterio Ecclesie beate Marie virginis predictae ex parte australi, uno capite inde abuttante super regiam viam versus occidentem, alio vero capite inde abuttante super Campum vocatum Saynt Thomas Layes versus orientem."

St John's reserved an annual rent of 6*d.*, and this sum is still yearly paid to that College from the ground now occupied by the Lodge inhabited by the Master of Peterhouse. This

¹ References as in the two preceding notes.

² St John's Treasury, St Peter's Parish Box; Baker-Mayor, i. 350.

perhaps suggests that the extent of St Thomas's Hostel and its grounds was somewhat larger than is sometimes thought, and that this messuage (which was perhaps also a Hostel) may have reached rather more to the south.

The southern abuttal of the last messuage was "a tenement belonging to the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Cemetery of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary." We have seen above that this Chantry possessed another house a little more to the north.

We have, in dealing with the east side of Trumpington Road, mentioned several messuages which were connected¹ with St John's. That Hospital owned at least one other property on the same side, further to the south. A deed, preserved in the College² which represents the old Hospital, records the gift by Robert de Aspale, chaplain and rector of the Church of Eyworthe, to the scholars and brothers of the Hospital of two messuages—"edificata et non edificata...cum pertinentibus in villa et extra villam." They are said to be situated between the lands of John de Aylesham on the south and John de Redgrave on the north, and to reach from the Great Street to the Field called Swynecroft on the east. An endorsement assigns the tenement to Peter Smith. The date of this deed—1282—is a point of singular interest, for the property was given to St John's Hospital—"scolaribus et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Cantebrig'"—during the memorable years of Bishop Hugh de Balsham's experiment—the experiment which failed to unite the secular students and the religious canons under the same roof.

There were also properties on the east side which passed into the hands of Peterhouse. Indeed that ancient College

¹ Richard Parker (*History*, p. 32) says of a Hostel called *St Edmund's* [cf. Caius, *Hist.* p. 51] that it formerly belonged to the Hospital of St John. He identifies it, in his time, with "a Brewhouse, called *Chopping Knife*, before the Lesser Church of St Mary." Fuller (*History*, p. 57), apparently copying this, places the Hostel "*against* Little St Mary's." The date of its use for academic purposes, however, is not known, nor its exact situation; but it may be one of the properties of St John's Hospital mentioned above in the text.

² St John's, box of Deeds relating to the Parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates.

still possesses several houses opposite to the Fitzwilliam Museum. It will be remembered that certain messuages on the west side of the road passed to the foundation of Bishop Hugh de Balsham through John and Sabina de Aylesham and through Master Robert de Wynwick. There are records of properties held by these persons on the east side of Trumpington Road, and it may be these refer to the houses just mentioned as now owned by the College. The deeds, however, it must be acknowledged are preserved in the archives of Corpus.

John de Aylesham, for instance, had property to the south of the messuage given to St John's and detailed in the last paragraph; and there are two or three documents¹ extant wherein his widow Sabina passes on to a namesake—Sabina, daughter of Robert of Fulsham—a garden in Swinecroft and a messuage, which is said to lie between houses belonging formerly to Henry Pykeryl and to Master Hugh de Hulmo, and later on to Robert de Berton and to Thomas de Hulmo. The donor is described as “Sabina Hasselof, quondam relicta Johannis de Haylesham.”

“Sabina Asselof” had as a neighbour, or fellow-owner, in this, or some other messuage on the east side of the road, Robert de Wynwick; several of whose possessions eventually passed to Peterhouse, of which his nephew—of the same name—was afterwards Master. The property² in question, which was sold by Robert de Wynwick, in 1304, to John Harsnet, rector of the Church of Cotes, is described as

“una placea curie mee...contra ecclesiam Sancti Petri...inter messuagium Sabine Asselof ex una parte et inter messuagium Willⁱ Gladewyn ex altera parte, et abuttat super Swynecroft ad unum capud et ad aliud super curiam meam.”

Another messuage³, which belonged to Robert de Wynwick, sen., and which afterwards passed to his nephew, lay between messuages belonging respectively to the Prior of Anglesey and to John Paternoster and reaching from the King's highway to the land of “the Brothers of Semplingham.” Master Robert

¹ Cole MS. ii. (5808), pp. 56 b and 57.

² *Ibid.* xii. (5818), p. 123 b.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 121 b, 122 b (3 deeds).

de Wynwick, the warden of the Chapel of Steresbregge, had acquired it in the year 1300 from John de Bradenache, who had married Johanna, one of the daughters of Thomas, son of Edmund, the butcher. The latter had given the property to his daughters Johanna and Margaret five years previously.

The mention of the name of John Paternoster reminds us that he was the owner of a celebrated hostel¹ called after his name. "Paternoster Hostel" appears to have stood on the east side of Trumpington Street towards the end of the street, reaching back to Swinecroft. John Paternoster seems to have been a man of some position and property; his name occurs as a witness in many contemporary deeds. He married Margaret the daughter of Simon the Carter, of whom and his son Hervey Prippe mention has been made in a previous chapter. John Paternoster² died some time before the compilation of the *Hundred Rolls*, wherein (1279) there are references to property in our neighbourhood inherited by his widow (who had married again, to Simon de Potton) and by his daughter Sabina.

"Paternosterishostel extra Trumpitonegatis" afterwards passed³ to William Foster, who gave it (8 Edward III) to Roger le Chandler and Edousa his daughter formerly the wife of Thomas Attechapel⁴.

There are still four or five names to be mentioned of persons who according to the *Hundred Rolls* possessed property in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates, and as they nearly all paid certain rent-charges to the St Edmund's family, we may suppose that they were situated near to the estate now occupied by Addenbrooke's Hospital.

William de Sauston⁵, a chaplain, for instance, paid two shillings annually to Luke de St Edmund's, on a messuage which had been given him by Matilda Sephare, in whose family it had long been.

¹ Wright and Jones, *Memorials*, Parish of St Mary-the-Less, p. 8; Cole MS. xii. p. 123.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 387.

³ Cole MS. xii. (5818), p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 122 b.

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 371.

John Perin also held a neighbouring property which he had bought of the Convent of Lavendene, to whom it had been given by Cecilia Godsol, a pious member of a well-known Cambridge family; and he paid a rent-charge (of 4*d.*) to the St Edmund's estate, on behalf of a messuage which had belonged to his brother Patrick de Welles, who had bought it of John of Histon, who had bought it of Simon Fot, in whose family it had formerly been. The house must, therefore, have been of some antiquity.

Another messuage, which had of old belonged to the Fot family, had passed, through the hands of Alexander Atteburne (and apparently of the above-mentioned Patrick Welles) to Alan Attepond.

Lastly, the *Hundred Rolls* record two messuages held by Peter Swyn¹, four generations at least of whose family held the property, which reached back to the land doubtless called after their name *Swinecroft*. On one of their houses they paid a rent-charge (of 8*d.*) to the St Edmund's family.

To the St Edmund's estate and its owners a separate chapter must be given.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 377.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ST EDMUND'S FAMILY.

WE have seen how conspicuous, on the west side of the Trumpington Road, was the estate of the le Rus family—with their stone house, their large court, their chapel, their smaller dwelling-places, and their closes and fields reaching back to the fen-land by the river. We have noted the varying fortunes of the leading members of the family, and their influence and official position in the town of Cambridge. We have seen, too, the pious gifts made by them to various churches and religious communities; and, indeed, how finally their estate itself passed, at the coming of the Friars, into the hands of the Brothers of Penitence.

We must now notice how, on the other side of the road, another great family—the St Edmund's—had their large house (doubtless, also of stone), their court, their chapel (even larger than that across the way), and their fields and lands, extending even more widely away to the west. This family, too, had its members influential in Town and University. They also were renowned for pious gifts; and their estate finally passed over (as we shall see) to the Canons of Sempringham.

The chapel, which was dedicated to St Edmund King and Martyr, must have been a building of some importance, for it is often styled an *ecclesia*, and official allusions are made to the patronage thereof; further, it was in the charge of a *custos* or warden, as will be seen a little later on.

The patronage was in the hands of the family in the great house on the estate; indeed they took their name from their

patron saint, being styled (say) Thomas of St Edmund's or Walter "at the Church of St Edmund."

The head of the family in the early part of the 13th century was William of St Edmund's; he had obtained the property by his marriage¹ with Alice, daughter of Master Geoffrey, of Cambridge. Alice is said, in the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 372), to have inherited the property *ex successione antiqua antecessorum suorum*. We may presume, therefore, that Master Geoffrey was one of those who had previously had possession of the estate. He seems to have been a person of considerable importance; the word *Magister* is always prefixed to his name, signifying doubtless his connexion with the University. In certain deeds he is described as "Master Geoffrey, official"²—perhaps under the Bishop of Ely. He had a son Walter, whose early death³ we may assume from the fact that the property passed to his sister Alice and her husband William of St Edmund's. All these persons—Walter, the son of Master Geoffrey, Alice his sister, William de St Edmund's her husband, together with Roger and Walter sons of the latter, and other members of the family—are mentioned as benefactors in the Charters of the Priory of St Radegund. William de St Edmund's and Alice his wife (acting through their son Walter) were concerned in the year 1232 in a suit⁴ against the owner of the Stone House across the road; but from the records of another case eight years later, we find that William was then dead. Walter de St Edmund's became the head of the family; but, earlier still, his name occurs in various transactions. We learn, for instance, from the St Radegund deeds⁵, that "Walter fitzWilliam of St Edmund's released to the Nuns his rights in the advowson of St Clement's Church, confirming the grants thereof made by his ancestor, Hugh FitzAbsalon, and his uncle Walter."

¹ *Priory of St Radegund, C. A. S. xxxi. p. 107.*

² *Ibid.* p. 85.

³ His widow is spoken of as "*domina Elena que fuit uxor Walteri filii Magistri Galfridi*," in deed in the Treasury of Corpus Christi College.

⁴ *Camb. Fines, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 16.*

⁵ *St Radegund, C. A. S. xxxi. p. 121.*

Walter of St Edmund's had at least three children¹, Thomas, Luke and Cecilia. Master Thomas of St Edmund's (as he is always called) succeeded to the estate on the death of his father. He was doubtless a member of the University; and was (as we have seen) a benefactor to the Nuns of St Radegund and to the Friars of the Sack.

On his death the property passed to his brother Luke of St Edmund's, as we are informed by the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 372) which speak of a messuage, &c., in the parish of St Peter outside the Trumpiton' gate (referring of course to the house, &c., with which we are dealing), and of a horse-mill (*molendinum equum*) in the market of Cambridge, together with seventy acres in the Cambridge fields. Thence he paid two marks and a half annually to Sir Ralph Pyrot and the lady Cassandra, his wife, by the assignment of Sir Giles de Argentein, and to the bailiffs of Cambridge, who held the fee farm of the town, gavel 25s. 10½d. Sir Giles de Argentein was probably the patron² of the living of St Benet, the parish in which the St Edmund's property was situated; though Luke had inherited the advowson³ of the chapel on the estate.

A comparison of two of the St Radegund Charters⁴, dated respectively 1282 and 1284, suggests that Luke was dead in the latter year, and that the inheritance had passed to his sister Cecilia.

This lady, in the year 1290, handed over⁵ to the Master and Brethren of the order of Sempringham the advowson of the Chapel of St Edmund, together with certain adjacent lands, and three years later she made them owners of almost all the possessions of the estate with which we have been dealing. A separate section must be added as to the Cambridge History of these White Canons.

A few words may be added as to other members of the

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 372; *Patent Rolls*, an. 1290, p. 363.

² Josselin, *Historiola C. C. C.*, *C. A. S.* pp. 4, 56; *Masters, History C. C. C.* p. 12, App. p. 6.

³ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

⁴ *St Radegund*, *C. A. S.* xxxi. pp. 81, 82.

⁵ *Patent Rolls* (1290), p. 363; (1293) p. 25; (1299) p. 421; *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 65.

St Edmund's family; Robert is mentioned¹ as mayor (*major ballivus*) of Cambridge in the year 1258, and his name occurs in various deeds and transactions; a Robert of St Edmund's occurs as plaintiff in a lawsuit² in the year 1307, but this was doubtless the son of the mayor; while John of St Edmund's, a canon of Barnwell, is mentioned³ several times in the *Liber Memorandorum* of that Priory. Another John of St Edmund's was one of the jury⁴ who had to do with the statistics compiled in the celebrated *Hundred Rolls*; wherein, it may be added, are given the names⁵ of three or four children of Robert the mayor, including a daughter, Matilda, who was apparently twice married; one husband being Leonius Dunning, a well-known Cambridge citizen, who, in 1278, held the Newnham mill under the Mortimers⁶.

THE CHAPEL OF ST EDMUND.

The chapel on the estate of the family, to which we are referring, was dedicated to the West Saxon Saint, Edmund King and Martyr. It seems to have been more important than an ordinary private chapel, for it is specially mentioned in certain ecclesiastical lists, and its chaplain is termed "warden" (*custos*) or "rector." The names of certain of these wardens are preserved. John le Ry, for instance, who is styled in the *Hundred Rolls*⁷ "quondam rector capelle Sancti Edmundi," endowed his benefice with a messuage situated on the other side of the Trumpington Road; while his name also occurs as a benefactor of the Priory of Anglesey. Robert de Horningshethe⁸ was another warden of the chapel (*custos capelle*), who has already been mentioned in connexion with certain property

¹ *Priory of St Radegund*, C. A. S. xxxi. pp. 17, 99, 120.

² *Camb. Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 73.

³ *Barnwell Lib. Mem.* pp. 166, 218.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 356.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. p. 363, 4 &c.

⁶ C. H. Cooper, *Memorials*, iii. p. 337.

⁷ *Peterhouse Treasury*, "Situs Collegii," A. 14, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* A. 15; *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 360; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, i. 79; where the name is misprinted John de Oy.

⁹ *Ibid.* A. 14, 15.

held by the Friars of the Sack. He is probably the same as "Robert, rector capelle Sancti Edmundi," who is stated in the *Hundred Rolls*¹ to be the owner officially of certain properties in the neighbourhood; of which it is interesting to notice that two acres and three roods had been given² by John le Rus, of the Stone House opposite; while a messuage and more than twelve acres of land were the gift of Luke of St Edmund's, and one acre came from Sir William Mortimer (*de Mortuo Mari*). In the last case, a small rent charge was reserved for Leonius Dunning, who (as stated above) had married a lady belonging to the St Edmund's family.

Adjacent to the house, on the west side of Trumpington Road, mentioned above as given by John le Ry, was another messuage³, "quod magister Walterus quondam filius Johannis clerici de Canteburgia dedit...dicte capelle sancti Edmundi cum corpore matris sue."

It may be that there was, in the early days of the chapel, a cemetery attached thereto, as there certainly was subsequently, when the property passed into the hands of the White Canons—of whom a short account must now be given.

THE CANONS OF SEMPRINGHAM.

The White Canons of St Gilbert of Sempringham⁴ were interesting as being the only order of English origin; their founder, St Gilbert, was rector of Sempringham, and composed his rule from those of St Austin and St Benedict; the canons, according to Dugdale, wearing a black habit with a white cloak and a hood lined with lamb's wool.

In 1290, about half a century after the foundation, there being a probability that the Friars of the Sack would relinquish their buildings, and the White Canons being desirous to find a hostel for the members of their order who were accustomed to resort to Cambridge for purposes of study, an application was

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 372.

² *Ibid.* ii. p. 372.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

⁴ Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, p. 229.

made to Rome, and on 9th June Pope Nicholas IV sent a mandate¹ to the Archdeacon of Stow

"to grant the place held by the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ, which they are about to leave, to the Master and Brethren of Sempringham, who often send members of their Order to study at the Castle of Cambridge, and need a house there, in which they intend to have a canonry; a fair price being paid for the said place, which is to be deposited in safety for the Holy Land Subsidy, or for some other purpose as pleases the Pope."

The Friars of the Sack, however, as we have seen, retained their Cambridge home for some years longer. But meantime, Cecilia of St Edmund's had made an application² for permission to grant to the White Canons her hereditary estate; and indeed on the 12th of June, 1290 (*i.e.* only three days after the papal mandate referred to above), a licence had been granted (as we learn from the *Rolls of Parliament*), for "the alienation in mortmain by Cicely, daughter of Walter, son of William de Sancto Edmundo, to the Master and Brethren of the order of Sempringham, of two acres of land in Cantebrugge and the advowson of the Chapel of St Edmund there."

Three years later the same lady granted³ to the same body—the prior and convent of the order of Sempringham in Cambridge—a messuage of sixty acres of land and 40*s.* rent in Cambridge; provided that the latter render 15*s.* 10½*d.* yearly to the Farm of the Town by the hands of the Bailiffs thereof. It may be added that six years later⁴ still (in 1299), Cecilia of St Edmund's further supplemented her gifts to the Canons.

To return, however, to the year 1290. On August 29th the Pope granted a licence⁵ to the Prior and brethren of Sempringham "to have within their house a discreet and learned doctor of theology, to teach those of the brethren who desire to study that science." In the following year, as we learn from the Barnwell *Liber Memorandum*⁶, "the Canons of Sem-

¹ Bliss, *Calendar of the Papal Letters*, i. 514; Rose Graham, *St Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 44.

² *Patent Rolls* (1290), p. 363; *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 65.

³ *Ibid.* (1298), p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1299), p. 421.

⁵ Bliss, *Calendar of the Papal Letters*, i. 516.

⁶ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

pringham first dwelt at St Edmund's Chapel, and applied themselves greatly to attending lectures and disputations."

Henceforth, then, the property of the St Edmund's family passed into the hands of the members of the order of Sempringham—the mansion was styled "*Domus Prioris et Alborum Canonicorum Cantabrigie*"—the grounds being popularly known as "Chanons' Close."

We need not here follow the subsequent history of these White Canons, nor refer to the houses and lands which they acquired in different parts of the town.

One incident only in their records may be quoted—and that in the words of Thomas Fuller¹, who, speaking of the Visitation of Archbishop Arundel in the year 1401, thus refers to the inspection of the convent by the commissioners: "Hence they advanced to the White Canons over against Peterhouse, where the name remaineth at this day (1643), whom they visited in their church (now buried in its churchyard, and the church-yard in oblivion) observing all solemn formalities." This sentence is given, not for the sake of quoting the quaint historian's curious phrases, nor for the purpose of leading on to the still more characteristic remarks in his succeeding paragraph; but with the intention of adding that although the exact sites of the Church of St Edmund and its cemetery were unknown to Fuller, yet excavations on different occasions in one part of what is now Addenbrooke's Hospital, have revealed the existence of human remains. Cole, the antiquary, for instance, records² how such were found in digging about the foundation and gardens of the Hospital in the 18th century; and a few years back, on 18th May, 1896, the Rev. F. C. Kempson, M.B., read a Paper³ before our Society, giving an account of some

¹ Fuller, *History of University of Cambridge*, edited by Prickett and Wright, p. 133. Fuller, in his characteristic manner, speaking of "the St Edmund's Hostel" mentioned by Caius (*History*, p. 51), says: "*Nomen patet, locus latet.*" His editors suggest that the hostel thus named may be none other than the hostel of the White Canons. But as Caius adds "*sed extra nostram memoriam,*" implying that it had ceased to exist, whereas the White Canons were still active in his early days, this identification is hardly likely.

² Cole MS. xli. p. 222.

³ *C. A. S.* xxxviii. pp. 241-4.

skulls found during the recent excavations for the Nurses' Home. It was pointed out that some of the bones were without doubt those of women, and that therefore they could not all come from the religious house of the Brethren of Sempringham. This statement supports the suggestion made above that there was already a cemetery attached to the Chapel of St Edmund before the property was handed over to the White Canons.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWARDS THE SOUTH END.

"CANONS' CLOSE"—where the family of St Edmund's had so long lived—was in the parish of St Benedict, part of which stretched southwards from near where Fitzwilliam Street now runs to Deepway (the modern Lensfield Road). The estate, which Cecilia of St Edmund's gave to the White Canons, was as large as, perhaps larger than, the present grounds of Addenbrooke's Hospital.

Were there any houses to the south of this property?

Probably there were; though as there was no consolidated estate handed over to any college or religious house, we have not any bundle of deeds to help us to locate certain messuages; and the question is rendered the more difficult by the scattered parts of the parish of St Benet.

To take an instance. In a list of Cambridge tenants recorded in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*¹, it is stated that Robert de Bitteringe held a messuage in Lorteburne Lane (now Free School Lane). Then it is added: "Idem Robertus tenet unum messuagium extra portas de Trumpitone, et reddit ix. d." No abutments being given, it is impossible to speak definitely of the situation of this property. It might have been in any parish (St Peter's or St Botolph's or St Benet's) "outside the Trumpington Gates"; it might have been in the portion of St Benet's at the S.E. corner of Mill Lane; or it might have been beyond the Canons' Close in the part of that parish with which we are now dealing.

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 288.

But though the site is uncertain, the owner is important and deserves special and grateful mention in a record of the early History of Cambridge; for the name of Robert de Bytering occurs in the list of Benefactors of the University. In the *Missa pro Benefactoribus*¹, he was long remembered among a number of graduates who had given gifts to the University. His name is linked with another similar donor in a transaction² arranged in the King's Court at Westminster in the year 1296 between Master Robert de Bytering and Thomas de Tuddenham. Certain properties in Cambridge and Woodditton passed between these University benefactors for the sum of eighteen marks of silver. Thomas de Tuddenham was a well-known bedell of the University, whose wife was the owner of considerable property.

Again, in the Charters of the Priory of St Radegund—edited by Mr Arthur Gray of Jesus College—there are several deeds³ referring to houses and lands in St Benet's parish; the first set of which have to do with the estate which passed from Walter, son of Master Geoffrey, to his sister Alice, the wife of William de St Edmund's, and which is stated to lie "in the great street towards Trumpington Gate"; while others were probably in the same neighbourhood.

There is a old terrier, belonging to the same College, which is described with characteristic charm and knowledge by the late Professor Maitland in his *Township and Borough*⁴. "The whereabouts of the various *culturæ* or furlongs is sometimes stated in modern terms. But, as is evident from the names of the persons to whom the strips are ascribed, the original whence these terriers derive was compiled in the second half of the 14th century." This is late for our present purpose; but the list—from Pembroke College to Lensfield Road (to use modern names)—may be quoted:

"John Smith, next Pembroke Garden, 1 pole; Way-balk; Thomas Jacob, 2 acres; Bartholomew Peryn, 2 roods; Chantry of St Peter, 2 r.;

¹ Stokes's Book in the Registry.

² *Camb. Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 68.

³ *St Radegund*, C. A. S. xxxi. p. 107.

⁴ *Ford Lectures*, p. 118, &c.

Bartholomew Piryng, 1 r. 20 p.; R. Arden, 1 a. 2 r.; Alb. Can. 2 r.; Alb. Can. 1 a. 2 r.; J. Carbonell, 4 a. 2 r. 0 p. (forming 16 *selions*); J. de Cambridge, 1 a. 2 r. (4 *selions*); and Nuns with a gore, 1 acre (2 *selions*)."

Looking into these, it will be noticed that several portions of the properties are still in the hands of the representatives of thirteenth century owners mentioned above—the Chantry of St Peter, the Peryn family, the White Canons, John of Cambridge, &c.

The point, which we are here discussing—viz. what houses there were to the south of the Canons' Close—is not much helped by the information afforded by this terrier; for the present writer does not know anything of J. Carbonell—except that his property passed later on to a Mr Russel.

As for John of Cambridge, whose acre and a half lie next, Professor Maitland suggests¹ a connexion with the citizen of the same name, with whose property on the west side we have already dealt. This is, perhaps, supported by the benefaction² to St Edmund's Chapel by the son of the latter. That John of Cambridge is, however, called *scriptor*³ as well as *clericus*, and is certainly not to be identified with the Justice of the Common Bench⁴.

The property of John of Cambridge passed to Corpus Christi, and it is interesting to notice that another benefactor⁵ of that College, Henry de Tangmer, caused, later on, the Hermitage of St Anne and the Lazar House to be built, probably on this estate. There was doubtless a Hermitage on, or near, this spot before de Tangmer's time, as there was on the entrance to Cambridge on the Barnwell Road, and on the approach by the Small Bridges at Newnham.

The Chapel of St Anne⁶ was served by the Vicar of St Benet's, in whose parish of course it stood, or by a chaplain

¹ *Ford Lectures*, p. 166.

² *Peterhouse Treasury*, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

³ *Ibid.* A. 17.

⁴ Joscelin, *Historiola*, p. 8; *Masters, Hist. C. C. C.* 8, 15, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12; *Ibid.* pp. 10, 21, &c.

⁶ *Masters, History of C. C. C.* pp. 21, 40, 50; Appendix, pp. 5, 6, 7. On p. 50, the date of the Indulgence is given as 1309, but the date in Appendix, p. 6 (1399), is doubtless correct.

appointed by him. An indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Ely in 1399, to all who would assist in supporting this chapel, and in relieving Sir John Bernewell, Chaplain and Hermit there. The Hermitage, which the Corporation of Cambridge¹ took by violence from the College, was eventually, at any rate, fairly extensive;

"its dimensions being towards Trumpington Street 144 feet, towards the east 146 feet, on the north 73 feet, and on the south 63 feet. It was occupied by one large house and seven cottages fronting the street, and in the rear were several outbuildings (including a large barn) placed around a yard once used as a tan yard."

The history of the buildings need not be detailed here.

The Lazar House was termed the Hospital of St Anthony and St Eligius, and the neighbourhood was long known as "Spital End." The building was some 500 years after its foundation transferred to Panton Street in St Paul's parish. In the Cambridge rentals² (of 1554), a payment is made by the Churchwardens of St Benet's for "a Church yarde at the Spyttle House Ende."

We have now arrived at Deepway (the modern Lensfield Road), which divided the parish of St Benet from that portion of the Barnwell Fields which on its frontage towards the Trumpington Road is now occupied by Brookside and the Botanical Gardens. But this portion, which was known then as Fordfield, need not be dwelt upon—except to say that some acres³ of it were soon afterwards given to the University by Nigel Thornton, a physician (*Magister Nigellus medicus*).

We turn to the western side of the great street, and will begin by again quoting from the 14th century terrier commented on by Professor Maitland⁴. That distinguished writer has some curious remarks upon the primitive history of the Peterhouse site; but here we will commence our quotation by starting from the south wall of what is now the Fitzwilliam property:

¹ *Cooper's Memorials*, iii. pp. 262, 3.

² *Bowtell's MS.* 7. 2918.

³ *The Chaplains of the University*, C. A. S. xli. pp. 5, &c

⁴ *Township and Borough*, pp. 110, &c.

"Six selions belonging to the White Canons, tithing to the Almoner (*Elemosinarius*) of Barnwell; one selion of an acre, paying tithes to St Edward's Church; four acres, known as Mortimer's dole, tithing to St Radegund's; a Lane;"

such is the commencement of long series of strips of land reaching down to the Trumpington Ford. The list may be seen in *Township and Borough* with its varied tithings.

Professor Maitland thus comments¹ on it:

"There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the land that lies between the Trumpington Road and Coe Fen....First comes Inglis or English Croft once held by the White Canons, but purchased by Peterhouse in the reign of Elizabeth. Then comes Mortimer's dole, which I take to be the site of Scroope Terrace and Scroope House. Then comes Coe Fen Lane. South of this our terrier requires about 25 'acres.' I believe that the grounds of the Leys School and of Belvoir Terrace will supply nearly the requisite quantity."

It is probable that some houses stood on the frontage of the land thus described, at least opposite the Canons' Close; but the writer is not able to give documentary proof of this.

¹ *Township and Borough*, p. 111.

CHAPTER IX.

TOWARDS THE WEST AND EAST.

As we are chiefly dealing with the main-road and the buildings and dwellings which fronted it, it is not necessary to refer in any detail to the lands which lay to the east and west thereof.

Mill Lane, our northern boundary, ran down (as its name implies) to the Mills—the King's Mill and the Bishop's Mill. These were of great antiquity, and there are several interesting points in their history, but they need not detain us here—although the question of their payment of tithes to the parish church (St Peter's-without-the-Gate) was of importance to Peterhouse, in whose Treasury are preserved certain deeds relating to them.

Across the water, on another branch of the river, was the Newnham Mill, in the same parish; and in the same neighbourhood¹ was the large establishment of the Carmelites, to whose worshipping at the church of St Peter when they were not prevented by the inundations, and to whose Divinity lectures, allusions are made elsewhere.

Returning to Trumpington Road, we have seen that at the rear of the houses on the west side were closes and selions reaching back to the stretch of land beyond—to the Coe

¹ Not far off, on the road leading to the Small Bridges, was, at any rate at a somewhat later date, and probably also in the 18th century, a small Hermitage, the dweller whersin received toll from travellers for keeping the bridges in so-called repair (Cooper, *Memorials*, iii. p. 262). The name "The Hermitage" still lingers in the neighbourhood.

Fen Leys; "usque ad communem pasturam" and "usque ad mariscum" are expressions occurring as the western boundary of the possessions.

On the east side of Trumpington Road, we must begin again at the north end. The King's Ditch, which ran along Mill Lane, passed down what is now called Pembroke Street. This lane (for it was little more than that) was formerly known as "Plot and Nuts Lane." The Ditch was, however, so evident—at times from its overflowings—that the northern boundary was often simply given as *Fossatum domini Regis*.

At the rear of the first six or seven buildings ran a lane without a special name, but generally known as the "venella que ducit ad Swynecroft." Beyond this lay certain gardens, at the N.E. end of which was a piece of land called "Pascall Yard or Close," which belonged to a chantry in Great St Mary's Church and had been founded in 1242.

Behind the houses on the east side of Trumpington Road stretched a large reach of land. Towards the back of where Pembroke now is the leys were generally called "St Thomas's Leys," doubtless from their being at the rear of the Hostel of that name. More to the south, they were known as "Swynecroft," probably because they were at the back of a mansion belonging to a well-known and long-resident family called Swyn. The two names, however, were later on frequently used interchangeably.

Fuller, in his *History*, describes St Thomas's Hostel as

"where now the orchard of the Master of Pembroke Hall, and where the neighbouring Leas retain their name: formerly the Campus Martius of the scholars here exercising themselves, sometimes too violently; lately disused, either because young scholars now have less valour, or more civility."

Fuller is, however, of course, comparatively modern; but his phrases are so quotable.

The land belonging to the St Edmund's family, and afterwards to the Canons of Sempringham, doubtless stretched well to the west of their Close.

Further south, the frontage was afterwards seized by, and

still (though under long leases) belongs to, the Corporation of Cambridge, while behind the land passed in the next century through the gilds to Corpus Christi College, who are still the owners thereof.

It is not necessary here to speak of the fields, so many of which had fallen into the hands of the Prior and Canons of Barnwell.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

It is impossible to consult the deeds and records upon which the foregoing statements have been founded, without being struck by the frequent allusions to religious gifts and obligations which they contain. At the risk of some little repetition, it may be well to summarise some of these references.

It will be noticed how in the inhabited parts the parishes crowd upon one another—St Benet's, St Botolph's, St Peter's, St Andrew's; and how, in the acre-strips, tithes are paid with a variety that puzzled Professor Maitland.

The origin of these parishes may be as follows: St Benet's, perhaps, was the earliest church centre; St Botolph's gathered its district round the sacred building characteristically erected at the southern gate; St Peter's Church, founded by a townsman, spread along both sides of the Trumpington Road; though a patch of St Benet's still remained on the north-east, and another large portion at the south-west; where it met the gradual accumulation of fields by the Barnwell authorities.

Of the churches themselves, little need be said here. St Botolph's lies outside the district with which we are dealing. St Peter's-without-the-Gates was, as we have seen, in the gift of the Prior and Canons of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist, and those Brethren took great interest in the church and spoke of the parish as "our parish"¹—for in it they owned much property, as well as the advowson. But we

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 19.

have already spoken of the Church and its chantries; of its collapse and of the rebuilding; of the change of name later on from St Peter's to St Mary's—and so on.

One curious and interesting life-story—revealed by one word in an old deed¹ in the Treasury of Corpus—may be mentioned. A lady named Matilda, daughter of Hervey the son of Martin, is called "*reclusa ecclesie Sancti Petri extra portam.*" Her father gave to her an arable acre in the Fields of Cambridge in Middlefield, as well as certain land off Mill Lane in the parish of St Botolph, which she shared with her sister Isabel. The former she held to the end of her life; her portion of the latter she gave² to St John's Hospital. The strange, hermit life passed by this woman outside the Church of St Peter must have been one of the sights and wonderments of Cambridge in the first half of the thirteenth century. Doubtless she passed her solitary days in a sort of shanty erected on the south of the church; attended in certain ways, it may be, by some faithful and admiring servant. We read in contemporary history of some other female recluses whose ideas of religion and service were embodied in similar abnegations; sometimes—perhaps in the case of Matilda the daughter of Hervey—the hermit was completely walled in, her food being given her through an iron-barred window. The date of her death cannot be gathered from the deeds, but her Middlefield acre was inherited³ by a member of the Gogging family, well known in Cambridge.

It has been mentioned that she bequeathed her Mill Lane property to the patrons of her church, the canons of the Hospital of St John. This, we have said, was not uncommon in the neighbourhood. One other such gift may be instanced—much more in accordance with modern notions. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Stephen of Hauxton gave⁴ to the Brethren of St John's a rent charge of twenty pence arising out of a house

¹ Cole MS. ii. (5803), pp. 52 b, 56 b.

² St John's College Treasury: Box of Deeds relating to St Botolph's Parish.

³ Cole MS. ii. (5803), p. 52 b.

⁴ St John's College Treasury: Box of Deeds relating to St Peter's-without-the-Gates.

situated where part of Pembroke College now stands—the grant being intended to provide annually two linen sheets for the said Hospital (*ad sustentationem lintheaminum duorum lectorum*). Among the witnesses to the deed were Robert of St Edmund's and Aunger le Rus, who were also, it may be added, present about the same time at the signing of another similar covenant (the record of which is also preserved at St John's College) whereby the Master (Anthony) and the brethren of the Hospital granted¹ to Hervey Fitz Eustace and his heirs, in return for a gift of seven acres of land, two beds with their necessary coverlids, for the use of infirm persons, in their stone house (*duo grabata cum pannis ad illa necessariis ad opus infirmorum in domo nostra lapidea*).

To return to the Churches, there were, as we have seen, subsidiary Chapels off this part of the Trumpington Road. There was the chapel of St Lucy belonging to the le Rus family, situated in the *curia* of their Stone House. That this was no mere private oratory is proved by the document², quoted above, whereby an Indulgence was granted to those who in the chapel of St Lucy should thrice repeat the Lord's Prayer on behalf of the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury and others. When the le Rus estate passed to the Friars of the Sack, the family still retained the right³ of making certain offerings before the altar of their patron saint.

At the great house on the other side of the road we are also told of the Chapel dedicated to St Edmund, the royal East Saxon Martyr. This sacred building was considered to be of such importance that its patronage is formally stated in the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ as follows: "Item dicunt quod advocacio et donatio capelle sancti Edmundi pertinent ad Lucam de Sancto Edmundo qui est verus patronus capelle predicte et jus patronatus ad eum pertinet jure hereditario per decessum antecessorum suorum." When this estate passed into the hands of the White Canons, the dignity of the church was enhanced.

¹ St John's College Treasury, B. i. 44; Kilmer's *School of Pythagoras*, p. 31.

² Peterhouse Treasury, F. 1; Baker MS. xlii. 196.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

To the south of the Chapel of St Edmund's was, at a somewhat later date, the Hermitage¹ and Chapel of St Anne; both these buildings were in the parish of St Benet, though the latter was more distinctly under the jurisdiction of the vicar of that church than the former. The Hermit doubtless received alms, and perhaps even tolls, of travellers entering Cambridge from the south.

Again across the water, in the district of Newnham but still in the parish of St Peter, was the convent of the Carmelites. These, as we have seen, under a covenant² with the authorities of St John's Hospital, at first worshipped at their parish church; but afterwards, finding the passage through the river-streams difficult³, they had their own private chapel. We are told in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*⁴ of the Fratres de Carmelo at Newnham that "fecerunt ibi cellulas plures, *ecclesiamque* claustrum et dormitorium, et officinas necessarias satis honestas construxerunt."

Perhaps also the Bishop of Ely granted permission for private oratories in some of the hostels in the neighbourhood; certainly this was so at a later date. The connexion of the hostels by St Peter's Church with St John's Hospital has already been dwelt upon.

Turning to the private property, it will be noticed that almost every house and every piece of land paid some rent-charge and made some gift to church or religious house. Sometimes these charges were small, but in many cases a substantial rent was paid. This may be seen from the cartularies and deeds which were of course carefully preserved by the convents or by their successors; as well as by the *Hundred Rolls* and other official records.

Thus were benefited the religious houses of Anglesey, Barnwell and Lavendene, the convent of St Radegund, the

¹ See note on p. 66.

² Baker MS. xlii. p. 195 b; Baker-Mayor, ii. 557, 8; *Historical MSS. Comm. Report*, i. 78.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 51; Cooper's *Annals*, i. 62.

⁴ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

Hospital of St John, and various churches in the town, as well as the local chapels mentioned above. It would be tedious to go right through the long list of the houses which thus paid contributions; but one or two instances may be given or repeated:

The messuage which Sepehar le Gaunt' held in Trumpington Road, he had bought of Stephen of Cottenham, a chaplain, under this condition among others, that he should maintain¹ a lamp burning before one of the altars in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Stephen, it may be added, had received the house as a gift from Geoffrey of Alderheth², who had been Master of the Hospital, Vicar of the Round Church, and (Rural) Dean of Cambridge.

Of the properties which had belonged to the family of John of Cambridge, *clericus* or *scriptor*, one, through Walter his son, paid a rent-charge³ to the Chapel of St Lucy in memory of the mother; another, through Matilda the daughter, contributed⁴ a certain sum annually to an altar of the B. V. M. in the church of St Mary in the Market.

And so with other houses; two or three of which it will be remembered supported the Chantries which had been founded in the church or in the cemetery of St Peter's without the Trumpington Gates.

The curious way in which the numerous acre-strips in the fields to the south paid tithes, apparently at will, to various churches in the town, has been alluded to above in a quotation⁵ from Professor Maitland's fascinating *Ford Lectures*.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 374.

² Baker-Mayor, i. 26, 52; J. M. Rigg's [forthcoming] *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 29. The writer begs to express his obligations to Mr Rigg.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 372.

⁵ See p. 68.

CHAPTER XI.

UNIVERSITY NOTES.

SCATTERED throughout the preceding pages are various allusions to University members and officials and to buildings or properties devoted to academic purposes. It may be useful to summarise these references.

It will be remembered that till nearly the end of the thirteenth century no colleges had been founded; the students living in hostels and private houses. When however the collegiate system was introduced by Hugh Balsham Bishop of Ely into the University, it was in the district with which we are dealing that Peterhouse, the earliest college, was founded; while across the road Pembroke—the third in order—followed later on.

Both Peterhouse and Pembroke included, within the area of their possessions, buildings which had previously been used as Hostels by the University clerks.

Indeed, according to a record¹ in St John's College, Hugh de Hottun, Chancellor of the University, had in 1246 exempted from taxation the two hostels which are the originals of Peterhouse—which Baker quotes² as “an ancient precedent of the university's power and privilege of taxing houses.”

On the Pembroke site, we not only have—though perhaps at a somewhat later date—the Hostel of St Thomas, but also the very interesting building, which was given³ to the

¹ Baker MS. x. (7037), p. 144; xix. (7046), p. 227 b.

² Baker-Mayor, i. p. 21.

³ See p. 16.

academical authorities by Sir Roger de Heydon, and which, after having been held by them for so long—and known as “University Hostel”—was handed over to Pembroke. The scholars who lived therein are the *Clerici Universitatis* who paid rent to St John’s Hospital, as recorded in the rolls quoted on p. 51.

The mention of this gift reminds us that we have chronicled several donors of houses and lands to the University—whose names were long remembered in the prayer at the *Missa Benefactorum*¹. Sir Roger Haydon, Thomas de Tuddenham and Maud de Walden his wife, and Robert de Bytering, are thirteenth century benefactors whose names ought still annually to be mentioned in the University Church and in the College Chapels of Pembroke, Caius and Trinity.

Thomas de Tuddenham was one of the University Bedells, and the allusions to his possessions and to his liberality illustrate the financial position of these officials. Thomas the bedel, indeed, was a member of a good family, his brother, Sir Robert de Tuddenham², being the knightly owner of some considerable property.

Robert de Bytering is styled *magister*, and it is probable that most of those to whom this title is prefixed in old Cambridge deeds and documents were graduates of the University. And thus we see that members of certain of the old town families—like the owners of the St Edmund’s estate—sometimes entered their sons on the University lists, as they allowed them to join the neighbouring monasteries. Other townsmen, like John Paternoster, were connected with Hostels for the students.

This mention of the religious houses reminds us that, at the coming of the Friars, the University received additional teachers and members. Thus, in the district with which we are dealing we have, across the waters, beyond the mills, in Newnham, an establishment of the brothers of Mount Carmel³. Towards the end of this century the members of this order in

¹ Stokes’s Book in the University Registry.

² Nasmith’s *Tanner’s Not. Monast.* pp. 516, 613; *Close Rolls* (27 Ed. III) m. 10.

³ See note on p. 15.

England changed their habits for white copes (*capae*) instead of coarse woollen cloaks (*pallia strangulata*); and became known as the White Friars. Dwelling, however, thus outside the town (*extra villam*), they suffered in winter many and great inconveniences *propter inundationem aquarum*, so that the scholars could not have access to them to hear Divinity (*ad Theologiam audiendum*), nor could they go to town to get their provisions (*pro victu suo habendo*). Hence in the year 1290 they petitioned Parliament for permission to remove to this side of the river. Accordingly, the request being granted, they removed to part of the present site of Queens' College etc.

Of the Friars of Penitence, whose buildings on the west side of Trumpington Street we have traced, the Barnwell *Liber*¹ says: "Ipsi Fratres de Sacco congregaverunt multos et bonos scolares"; while of the White Canons, who settled on the east side, the same chronicle² writes: "Canonici de Sempringham inhabitabant ad Capellam Sancti Eadmundi, et lectionibus audiendis et disputationibus multum insistebant."

The last University incident, which need be specialized, shows a strange touch of (undergraduate) nature—for we have recorded how³—more than 600 years ago—quidam clerici universitatis Cantebrie—in what modern slang calls a "Rag"—carried off certain materials from a demolished building! The incident has been detailed on page 43. With this linking of past and present, we may close this chapter in the Intimate History of the Town and University of Cambridge.

¹ *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, ed. by J. W. Clark, M.A. p. 218.

² *Ibid.* p. 212.

³ *Ibid.* p. 161.

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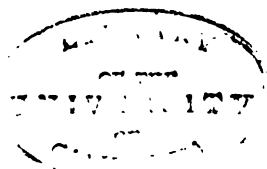
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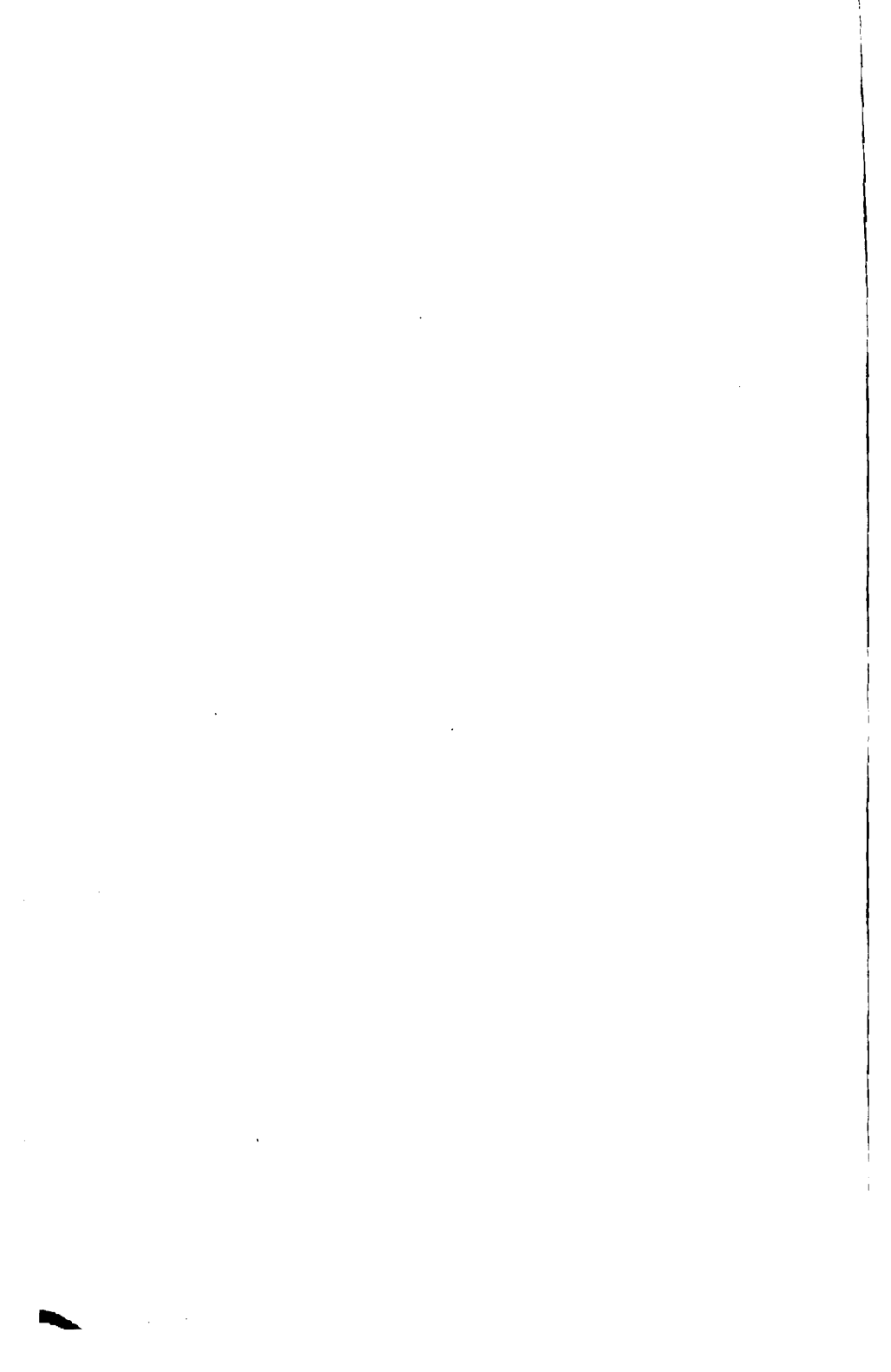
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A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ESQUIRE BEDELLS.

[The following List is compiled from many sources. Before the *Grace Books* begin, it is impossible to give accurately the dates of the Bedella. Reference must be made to the documents quoted in Chapter VIII. In *Grace Book A*, uncertainty still reigns as to the periods during which our officers held their posts. But afterwards, not only can the length of their service be recorded, but during the latter part of the 15th century, and during the 16th, distinction can be made as to the Bedellship held. For instance [D] signifies the Bedell of Divinity (and Canon Law), [A] the Bedell of Arts, and [3rd] the "other Bedell." Later on our officers became "equal."]

1250	Ralph Piroun Robert Gosnel
1260	Walter de Wells Thomas le Bedel: (c. 1270)
1270	Thomas de Tuddenham (c. 1270) Walter de Oxford (c. 1270) Walter le Bedel (c. 1279)
1280	{William Russell (c. 1287) Robert the Bedell (c. 1287)
1290	Thomas de Watlington (c. 1290) Robert Carless (c. 1290)
1300	Reginald the Bedell (c. 1300) Christopher the Bedell (c. 1300) Robert the Bedell (c. 1300)
1310	Thurstan de Huningham (c. 1315)
1320	Stephen de Eye (c. 1324)
1330	
1340	
1350	Henry the Bedell (c. 1350) Adam de la More (c. 1350) Richard de Betelle (c. 1350) John de Arundel (c. 1355)
1360	{John de Wesenham (c. 1360) William Wigmore (c. 1360) William Physwick (c. 1360)
1370	

1380

1380

1400

Richard Bristow (c. 1408)

1410

John Physwick (c. 1418)

1420

1430

1440

Robert Woodlark (c. 1440)

1450

William Bedell (c. 1450)

Christopher the Bedell (c. 1455) (?)

1460

{ Alan Semper (c. 1460)

{ William Dalton (c. 1460)

{ Thomas Bury (c. 1460)

1470

John Canterbury (c. 1470)

1480

1485

Laurence Bretherton (c. 1485)

1490

Carsey [D]

Morgan [A]

Bedford [3rd]

1495

1500

1505

P. Cheke (1509) [D]

Hobbs (1507) [A]

J. Clarke (1510) [3rd]

1510

1515

1520

Adams (1521, 2) [3rd]

1525

Urmston (1530) [D]

Sherwood (1529) [A]

Mere (1530) [D]

1535

1540

1545

Fluyd (1549) [A]

Brunstead [A]

1550

1555

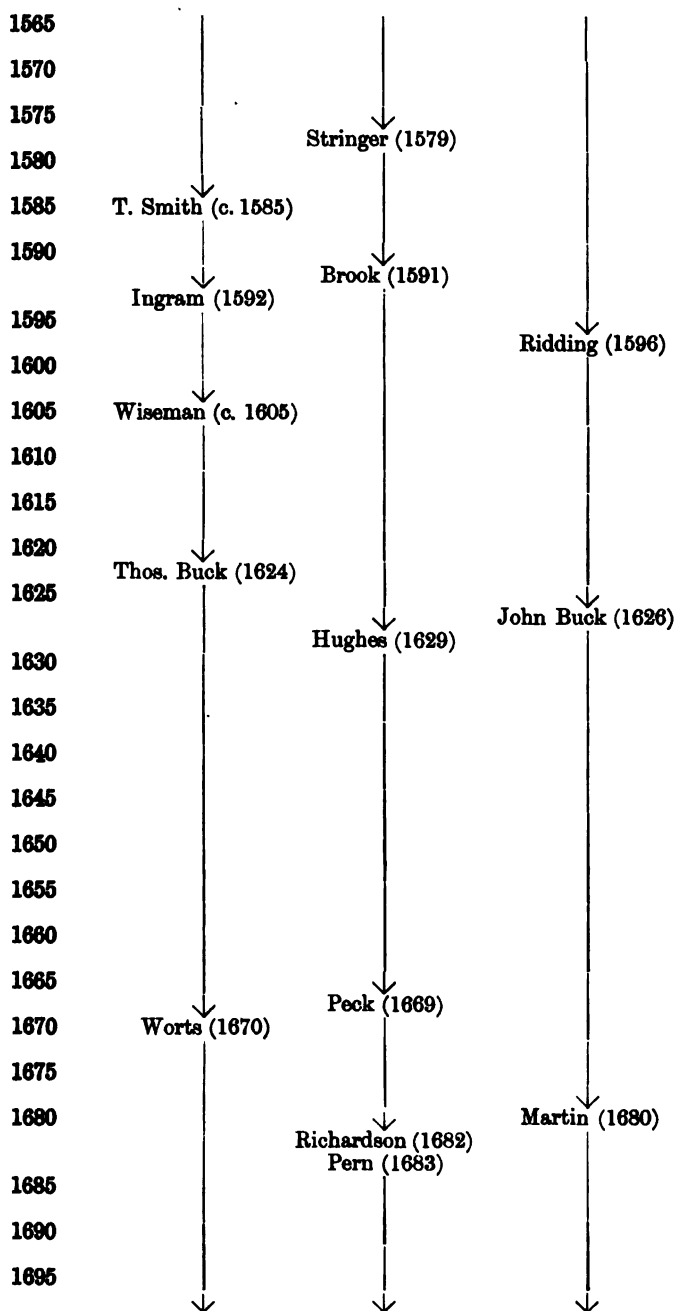
Stokes (1557) [D]

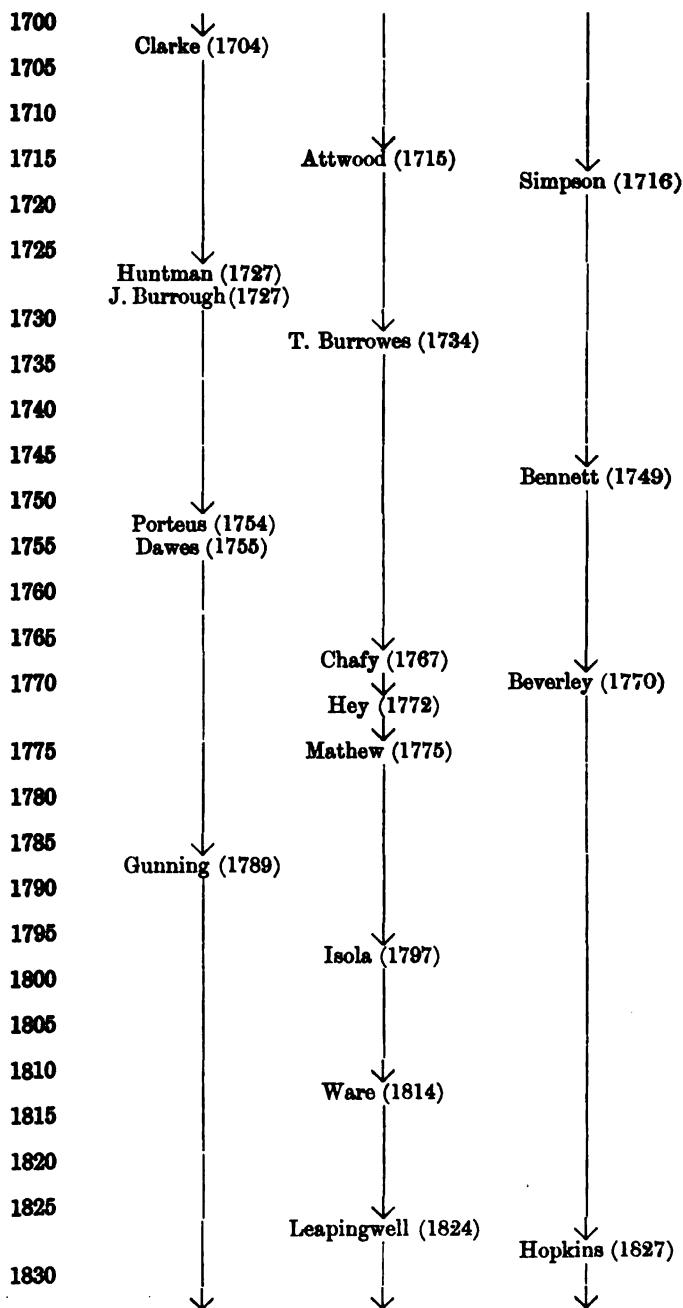
Muriel (1555) [3rd]

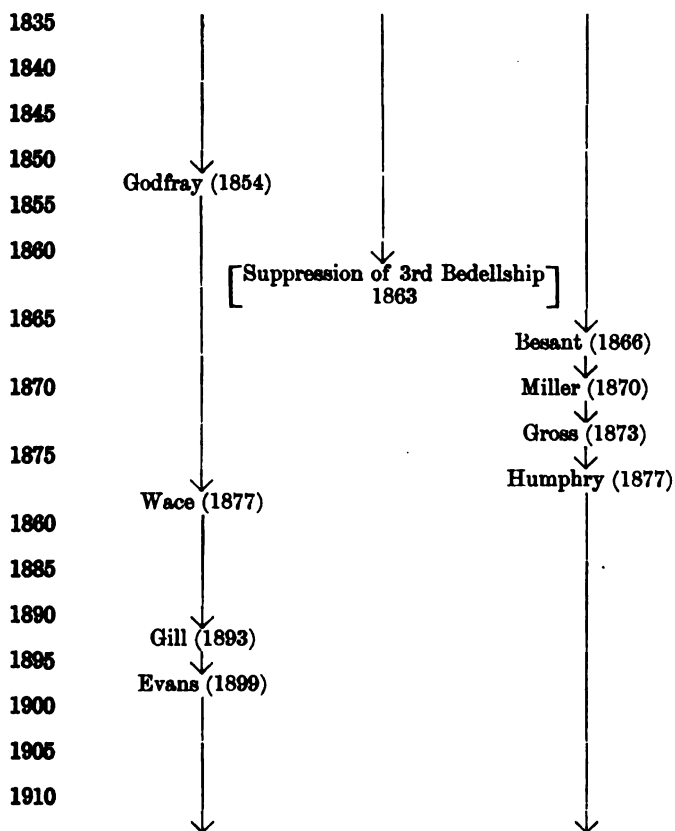
Baxter (1556) [3rd]

1560

Redmayne (1563) [A]









CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

FOR some seven hundred years the Bedells have been amongst the most useful and picturesque officers of the University of Cambridge. A record of their careers and of their many-sided activities will form quite an epitome of academical history.

In the following chapters a systematic account will be given of the titles, the duties, the mode of election, the stipends, the dress, etc. of the Esquire Bedells.

Then a biographical list of nearly one hundred of these officials will be recorded—and incidents connected with their lives will be noted which, all down these centuries, strikingly illustrate the ceremonies and the studies of the University.

Lastly a chapter will be added on the Inferior Bedells, whose not unimportant offices have, during the same lengthened period, sometimes been confused with those of the more distinguished Esquire Bedells.

It will be remarked that the important officials, with whom this work chiefly deals, were not—at first and for some generations—graduates or members of the University. But they were “privileged persons,” claiming—on account of their academic official position—exemption¹ from the jurisdiction of the town of Cambridge. The Bedells, from their wealth, their usefulness, and their loyal benefactions, gradually became identified with Alma Mater, and subsequently distinguished graduates competed for the post with its picturesque and dignified duties².

¹ The Bedells also had the privilege of borrowing from various University Chests, such as Billington's (see Masters's *History of Corpus*, Appendix x.) and Bateman's (see Cooper's *Annals*, i. p. 100).

² Their duties sometimes involved collisions with the civic authorities and

Allusion has just been made to their benefactions; and it may be noted that it is to their generous gifts that—before the records of the University began to be systematically kept—we owe the remembrance of the names of many of the earlier officials.

One of the most interesting and curious old documents connected with our University contains a list¹ of “Benefactors” written early in the reign of Henry VIII. The roll includes about a dozen Bedells. These are their honoured names:

Ralph Piroun,
Robert Gosnol,
Walter de Welles,
Thomas de Tudenham,
Walter de Oxforde,
Thomas de Watlyngton,
Robert Carles,
Stephen de Eye,
Thurstan de Hunyngham,
Adam de la More,
and Richard de Betelee.

These had all passed away before the end of the fourteenth century, and no record remains, except in the case of the last mentioned, to give details of the benefactions for which a grateful University remembered them in prayer.

At the foot of the above roll (p. 28) there is added, by a later hand, another list of Bedells also to be honoured as Benefactors to the University:

John Carsey,
John Bedford,
John Clark,
Peter Cheke,
Robert Hobbs,
and Thomas Adams.

the townfolk (as may be seen in the case of Wigmore and other Bedells), and sometimes in higher circles (as may be noticed in the affair of Henry de Harwedon, V.C.; see Cooper's *Annals*, i. pp. 86–89; *Commissioners' Documents*, i. pp. 89, etc.).

¹ See Stokes's *Book in the Registry*, pp. 24–29: “*Preces pro animabus Benefactorum.*” The writer desires to express his many obligations to the kindness and courtesy of the late Registry, Mr J. W. Clark.

All these held office during the first half of the sixteenth century, and are duly mentioned in the early Grace Books in connection with various official duties, though of the special form of their benefactions we have no record.

These lists, however, do not exhaust the names which might be given. For they do not include such Bedells as Robert Woodlark and his brother-in-law John Canterbury, and William Physwick of Hostel fame. These men were college, and therefore University, Benefactors.

And it may be added that many subsequent Esquire Bedells maintained the generous reputation of their predecessors—such were John Mere and Matthew Stokes in the sixteenth century, and Thomas Buck in the seventeenth¹.

A word of praise, too, must be accorded to several of those who have borne the honourable office, for the faithful way in which they have handed down the traditions² of their varied duties. Elaborate memoranda illustrating old customs and academic usages are in existence, penned by John Mere, Matthew Stokes, John Buck, Richard Attwood, Robert Simpson, Sir James Burrough and later Bedells.

¹ William Worts, the University Benefactor, was the son of the Esquire Bedell of that name.

² They were naturally consulted on any disputed question. See the opinion given by Mr Hobbs, in the year when Nicholas Ridley was proctor (1583-4); *Grace Book A*, p. 225; and notice the following record preserved in the Registry [Caryl, xv. 108(4)] "*Query*. At what time does the University year end? *Answered* by Bedles Hughes and J. Buck: that it ends on the Friday in Commencement week."

CHAPTER II.

THE TITLES OF THE BEDELLS.

THE title "*Esquire Bedell*" was not applied to the early officers mentioned in the Introductory Chapter. After what has been there said of their status, it would not be expected that the words "*Armiger Bedellus*" would appear during the 14th and 15th centuries. The first adjacent use of these words, which the writer has come across, occurs in a deed¹ referring to John Canterbury, dated 1473. The official thus designated and his brother-in-law, Provost Woodlark, were also apparently the first members of the University who held the post with which we are dealing. Canterbury was a fellow of King's, and married Elizabeth, sister of the Provost² of that College.

A description often used of the early *bedell* was "*Serviens Universitatis Cantabrigiae*." Similarly at Oxford the corresponding official³ was often known as the *Serjeant* of the University.

The title *Bedellus*, however, naturally came to be the official title, though as we shall see various other terms are employed in certain deeds and documents.

Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*⁴, says, with a quaintness which is characteristic and with an inaccuracy

¹ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5813, p. 154. "J. Canterbury armiger et bedellus universitatis Cantabrigie."

² Provost Woodlark had, according to Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*, p. 34, been "Beadle of the University." He also, probably, would claim to be styled "armiger."

³ See Robert de Avesbury's *History of Edward III* (ed. Hearne), Appendix.

⁴ Prickett and Wright's Edition, pp. 51 and 52.

which is not unusual,—when treating of the officers of the University—

“Behold...the complete body...with the Chancellor the head, the Regents and Scholars the heart, the officers the hands and feet.... Of the latter this composition [Bishop Balsham’s decision, 1276] expresseth by name, 1, Bedels, and these two in number, with the *virges* or wands, since, in many years, grown up to be staves, and these two doubled into four at this day [1654]. Some conceive Bedellus so called ‘quasi Pedellus, a pedo,’ signifying that ceremonious staff which they manage in their hands; whilst others with more probability derive it from beads (prayers in old English), it being a principal part of his office to give public notice of all conventions for academical devotion.”

Fuller goes on to treat of *Scriptores*, *Illuminatores*, *Stationarii*, and other officers.

In various statutes and deeds, the following titles are also applied to the Bedells:

Apparitor¹, or Stator
 Praeco²
 Viator³
 Serviens Universitatis⁴
 Caduceator⁵
 Accisus⁶
 Lictor⁷.

These and other terms which explain themselves remind us of the varied offices and duties which fell to the lot of the Esquire Bedell.

It should be noted that some of these titles are also used of the Inferior Bedell. When a qualifying adjective marks the

¹ Statute 72, *Comm. Doc.* i. p. 353, etc.

² Edward VI’s *Statutes*, Lamb’s *C.C.C. Documents*, p. 134; *Grace Book B*, pp. 161, 181, etc.

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 134, 294, etc.

⁴ See pp. 50, 129, etc.; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 384, etc. From the earliest times, these officers were “privileged” with regard to the town. Later on a curious dispute arose as to whether “squire beaddelles should eche of them have one reteyned servaunt (being themselves but servauntes). The Town thinketh it inconvenient.” 1585. (*MS. Lansd.* xlii. art. 66; Cooper, *Annals*, ii. p. 404).

⁵ Caius, *Hist. Cant.*, p. 129.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 49; *Annals* (ed. Venn); *C.A.S.* xi. p. 8.

⁷ Drake’s Parker, Appendix, p. xvii.

subordinate official, the distinction is obvious; but when the title, as it frequently does, stands alone without any *nota diminutionis*, it is necessary to consult the context¹ or adjacent items. It is then generally fairly easy, from references to the Leet, the Market, or the Fair, to recognise the Inferior Bedell.

NOTE ON "THE BEDELL OF GLOMERY."

In the early history of the University, we meet with an official who was known as *Bedellus Glomeriae*, to whom a passing reference must be made; although we need not here dwell upon the vexed question of the meaning of the term *Magister Glomeriae*. In the decision² given in the year 1276 by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely (with regard to the controversy which had arisen between the regents and scholars of the University and the Archdeacon of Ely with respect to jurisdiction), the following sentence occurs:

"Et quia in statuto universitatis ejusdem vidimus contineri, quod duo Bedelli universitatis intersint virgam deferentes omnibus vesperis, Principiis, conventibus, defunctorum exequiis et in omnibus aliis convocationibus, nullo alio in praejudicium illorum virgam delaturo: Praecipimus quod Bedellus Glomeriae, in praedictis convocationibus et locis coram cancellario et magistris virgam non deferat. In aliis autem locis, quandocunque et ubicunque voluerit, et maxime pro expeditione officii sui, virgam libere deferet, licenter et quiete."

Dr Peacock³ strangely identified the Bedell of Glomery with the future "Yeoman Bedell"; but he gives no evidence in support of this conjecture. Nor is there any evidence to bring forward; for the *Bedellus Glomeriae*, with his *virga*, never appears again after 1276; and any reference to him must be mere guesswork, until some document leaps to light.

¹ It is also necessary to distinguish, from the Esquire Bedells, the deputies who were often appointed for short or longer periods to take their places in various duties and ceremonies. This renders uncertain the dates of the appointment of some Bedella. Quite a number of these deputies will be named hereafter; and quite a number of graces might be quoted authorising such appointments. See in *Grace Books* under the years 1604, 1624, 1626, 1645, 1646, 1664, 1671, 1677-79, etc.

² See *MS. Hare*, i. 81.

³ *Observations on the Statutes*, Appendix A, p. xxxv.

CHAPTER III.

THE DUTIES OF THE BEDELLS.

THE duties of the Bedells may be gathered from the Statutes, from a consideration of the various titles by which they have been designated, either officially or familiarly, from various historical and biographical notices, and from memoranda of the Bedells themselves.

To take the last of the sources first; there are numerous records, official or private, remaining—many of them in print, others in manuscript—telling us, with curious and elaborate details, of the duties and the quaint ceremonies—many of them now obsolete—connected with the office of the Bedells.

John Mere left three *Diaries*¹, full of the most minute, personal facts, as well as other documents; Matthew Stokes preserved records² of singular interest and recorded facts illustrating the duties of his time; Thomas Buck³ left memoranda, and his brother John, in his old age and after half-a-century's occupancy of the office, compiled a series of notes entitled "*Consuetudines et Ceremoniæ Academiæ ab Antiquo Receptæ, usu præsentī continuatæ, Posterisque communicatæ*" A° 1665." Other Bedells, whose manuscript records may be seen in the collections of Baker or Cole, are Francis Hughes⁴, John Peck⁵,

¹ See *Grace Book A*, pp. 221-230; *Lamb's Documents from the MS. Library of C.C.C.*, pp. 109-120; 184-236; *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. p. 175; ii. p. 110; *Nasmith, Cat. Lib. C.C.C. ovi*.

² *Athenæ Cantabr.* ii. 10; *Peacock's Statutes*, Appendix A.

³ *Add. MS. (B.M.) 5848*, pp. 201, etc.

⁴ *Peacock's Statutes*, Appendix B.

⁵ *Baker MS.*, University Library, 41, pp. 212, etc.; *Add. MS. (B.M.) 5848*, pp. 201, etc.

⁶ *Baker MS. 42*, pp. 1-102.

Richard Attwood¹, Robert Simpson², and Sir James Burrough³, while Henry Gunning's *Reminiscences*⁴ may be consulted not only for remarkable stories of old Cambridge but also for living illustrations of the official customs and practices detailed in his editions of Wall's *Ceremonies of the University*⁵.

Peacock's printed Appendices⁶ and his accurate and suggestive comments and notes upon them make this section almost unnecessary.

Still certain points not referred to by him may present themselves in the following further remarks upon the duties of the Bedells as gathered from the Statute Books and other sources.

Among the *Statuta Antiqua*⁷ are six ordinances (nos. 71–75), *De bedellis et eorum officio*. The first of these about their election is given elsewhere; the last four are also quoted or commented upon in other sections. Statute, no. 72, "*De officio bedellorum*," sums up the duties upon which we are dwelling. It reads as follows:

"Duo tantum bedelli seu apparitores juramento astricti in ista universitate habeantur, quorum alter scholarum theologiae decretorum et decretalium maneat, alter vero omnium aliarum scholarum circa sedes, et alia onera subeat universa, semper parati mandata cancellarii adimplere: de praecepto cancellarii et magistrorum de causis cognoscentium convocationes, citationes et executiones faciant universas, nihil a pauperibus pro conventionem recepturi. Neuter eorum habeat substitutum comitem vel paedagogum nisi de licentia speciali cancellarii majoris partis et sanioris regentium interveniente, qui jurent coram universitate ad consilia universitatis celanda et eorum ministeria fideliter exequenda. Ingrediantur singulis diebus scholas singulas hora aliqua lectionum ordinarium; singulis etiam disputationibus aliqua hora intersint, bedellus theologorum et decretis-

¹ *Add. MS.*, British Museum, 5852, pp. 1–85.

² *Ibid.* pp. 85–96.

³ *Ibid.* 1741, etc.

⁴ Gunning's *Reminiscences of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge*, 2 vols., 1854.

⁵ Wall's *Ceremonies of the University of Cambridge*, edited by Henry Gunning. In the *Cambridge Portfolio*, ii. 526, Adam Wall is described as "*late Esquire Bedell*"; but this is a mistake.

⁶ Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge*, with two Appendices, 1841.

⁷ *Commiss. Documents*, i. pp. 358–356.

tarum hora prima et hora disputationis eorundem, bedellus artistarum hora tertia qua ipsi disputare consueverunt. Campanas pulsare teneantur, tempora seu horas antedictas in unius favorem vel alterius praejudicium nullatenus anticipando seu prorogando. Intersint etiam virgam deferentes omnibus vespertiis, praecipuis conventibus, defunctorum exequiis, et omnibus aliis convocationibus, ante magistrorum recessum non recessuri, nullo alio in eorum praejudicium virgam delaturo. Si vero negligentes¹ vel remissi circa praedicta et alia ad eorum officium pertinentia deprehendantur, communis collecta in scholis omnino denegetur eisdem, vel ab officio perpetuo seu ad tempus amoveantur, et alii idonei in loco eorum subrogentur, si delicti qualitas vel negligentia remotionem postulaverit."

Before proceeding to comment upon this *statutum antiquum*, it may be well to quote that part of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Statute², which has reference to the duties of the Bedells:

"Praecones armigeri tres aequale stipendium aequalem mercedem accipiant ad aequalem laborem ac diligentiam devincti. Stipendium his et merces proveniet quemadmodum decreto commissionariorum nostrorum³ quid quisque gradus singulis ministris solvat constituetur. Horum trium et viatoris inferioris praeterea officium erit quotidie ac diligenter cancellario adesse eique in omnibus quae ad munus cancellariatus et ad illorum quoque officia spectabunt inservire et diligenter providere ne quando referat illos adesse absentes aut extra conspectum sint. Singulis singulorum artium disputationibus duo aut ad minimum unus ex illis semper intersit si responsor⁴ supra gradum baccalaurei sit et responsorem⁵ domo ad scholas deducant iterumque a scholis domum reducant."

These Statutes—old and later—begin by stating the number of the Bedells. In the former, which dates back to the 13th century⁶, there are only two of these officers. When the number was, in those early days, increased to three is not known; but an indulgence⁷ granted by Pope Urban the Sixth in 1386, to "John Wesenham, William Wykmore, and William

¹ By the Old Statute passed in 1275, it was enacted or probably re-enacted that negligent bedells were to be punished by the *Rectors* (i.e. by the Proctors). See Old Statute 57; *MS. Hare*, i. 28; Peacock, *Observations*, etc., 23 n.; Cooper, *Annals*, i. 55.

² See Lamb's *Collection of Letters, Statutes and other Documents from the MS. Library of Corp. Chr. Coll.* pp. 185 and 295. For the first part of this Statute, see page 15.

³ "decreto nostro" (Eliz.).

⁴ "Disputator" (Eliz.).

⁵ "Disputatorem" (Eliz.).

⁶ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 354.

⁷ Baker *MS.* xlii. p. 180; see p. 60.

Fisshewyke, married men, and bedells of the University," seems to imply that there were three men in office together at that date; and when the *Grace Books* begin (from 1454 onwards) there are apparently three Bedells—though this is a matter of conjecture. There were certainly that number throughout *Grace Book B*, from 1488 to 1544. Yet the Old Proctors' Book seems to have continued the reading "*Duo tantum Bedelli*" in Statute 72, and No. 75 (which by the bye is given as a grace in *Grace Book A*, under date 28 June, 1494) speaks of "*Bedelli utriusque facultatis*."

In Mere's *Third Diary*¹, on 1 February, 1556, there is a curious entry:

"Then we three bedles commawnded to departe, Mr Muryell commawnded to go furthe of both howses and Mr Bronsted and I continued in the non regent house; then the senior Proctor was commawnded to rede all the statutes concerning the bedells and that done after a lytle consultation with the Heddes and Doctors this Grace viz. *Plac. vobis ut tres sint bedelli non obstante statuto* was axed and denyed in the non regent house.... It. Mr Muryell went home no bedle."

Dean Peacock² gives an explanation of this; but the following suggestion is here offered. It is well known that the Senate was angry that Mr Muryell had been thrust upon them on the death of Mr Adams. The next day, Candlemas, Feb. 2nd, they would have had to confirm his election, or offend the Court party. They cleverly adopted the device of ordering the Proctor to read the Statutes relating to the Bedells, including No. 72, which begins, "*Duo tantum Bedelli*," but which was disregarded in practice, for there had been three Bedells for years. They then proposed that this old Statute should be overruled and three Bedells legally appointed. Not that the anti-Muryell party wished for the three (or rather not that they wished for three, which included Mr Muryell). The Court or pro-Muryell party were thus in a dilemma; they had lately revived the old Statutes; to vote for this Grace would be to disapprove of these old Statutes. So they voted for the *ipsissima verba* of No. 72; and Mr Muryell found no place!

¹ Lamb's *Documents*, p. 214. See p. 84. As to the date 1556, see *C.A.S.* iii. p. 7.

² *Statutes*, Appendix A, p. xii.

But soon afterwards in the same year, 1556—Mr Muryell and the Commissioners being out of the way—a new Grace¹ was proposed: “Conceditur ut eligatur tertius Bedellus in subsidium reliquorum duorum bedellorum.” This was carried, and Mr Baxter² was appointed³.

Henceforth, for 300 years, till the Statutes of 1858, or rather the death of Dr Leapingwell⁴ in 1863, there were three Esquire Bedells. Since then two only have served the ancient and honourable office.

In the old Statute one of the two is said to be Bedell in Theology and Canon Law, the other Bedell in Arts. When the third official was appointed he was sometimes called “Bedellus Subsidiarius,” sometimes “the other Bydill.” When the study of Canon Law was abolished, the senior became simply the Bedell in Divinity. The change meant of course not only less work, but also less fees; and after a while—as in the later Statutes—more of equality was introduced as to labour and stipend. In later times, they were known as the Senior, the Middle, and the Junior Bedells.

The thousand and one duties that fell to them—which are only hinted at in these Statutes—may be gathered from numerous entries in the *Grace Books*, from the curious details of the *Appendices* in Peacock’s book so often quoted, and from various records and memoranda. It is impossible to go into detail as to their attendance upon the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, as to their summonses⁵ to sermons⁶, to academical

¹ *Commissioners’ Documents*, i. p. 452; *Grat. A.* 48; see *Proctors’ Book*, f. 21.

² See p. 84.

³ Dean Peacock says (p. xii.) that Mr Muryell “was restored again, upon the accession”; this is a mistake in fact, and misunderstands the circumstances of the objection to that short-lived official.

⁴ See A. P. Humphry, M.A., *Maces, C.A.S.* xxi. pp. 208–9. See also a pamphlet, entitled “*A Plea for the Triumvirate of Esquire Bedells*,” by Academicus (W. Nind, Peterhouse), 1852.”

⁵ Nasmith’s *Catalogue of MSS. in C.C.C. evi.*

⁶ T. Randolph, with a *Praevaricator’s* licence, addresses them as follows: “*Vestrum, Bedelli, officium est vocare nunc in memoriam totam jocorum congregationem*” (Randolph’s *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 678).

⁷ Attwood the Bedell, in his *Diary*, p. 88, thus amusingly writes: “1709. Oct. 9. *Pridie termini. Concio ad Clerum* by Dr James. This day happened

congregations or disputations, as to their place in processions¹ and religious services for the living and the dead, as to their visitation² of the various schools, as to their quaint Latin and French sentences, their making "curtesyes" to the Fathers, their "bringing home" of the Doctors, and so on, and so on. These are illustrated on nearly every page of this work, and they may further be deduced (as we have seen in the preceding chapter) from a consideration of the titles accorded in official or in popular language to the Bedells.

The duties of these officers with regard to Stourbridge Fair⁴ would almost require a section to themselves.

Coming to later times, the following extracts from Gunning's⁵ gossiping *Reminiscences* may be added as illustrating the social side of the duties of the Esquire Bedells in the eighteenth century:

"I went the morning after my election to the rooms of my excellent to be on a Sunday, as did the 8th of May this year, when James was to Clerum too. Sometime before this day the V.C. sent him word, He expected a Latin sermon. The Bedle went to wait on him to the Schools. I'll have no Bedle, says he; away to St Mary's in his chariot, on go his robes, and up the pulpit goes he, before the V.C., without any Bedle: and what he said there, the Lord only knows. He pleaded president (*sic*) for it."

¹ At the funeral of Dr Clayton, Master of St John's College, in 1612, we are told that the Yeoman Bedell went before the Bachelors of Art, the Junior Esquire Bedell (Mr Wiseman) before the Regents, Taxors and Proctors, Mr Brook ("though he was the Senior Bedell") before the Representer of the deceased and the hearse, and before the Vice-Chancellor walked Mr Ridding, the second Esquire Bedell—this order of precedence being accorded to him on this occasion because he had been "an inward friend" of Dr Clayton "and of his old acquaintance" (from Pern's *Book*, C.A.S. xi. p. 189). To take another instance: at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library Front on April 80th, 1755, first went the Junior Bedell; then the Syndics; two and two, juniors first; then the other two Bedells, followed by the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads, the Doctors and the other members of the University in order of seniority, seniors first (Hubbard's *Journal*, p. 36).

² E.g. "Quod nomina Regis Richardi 3ⁱⁱⁱ ac Thomae Barowe per Bedellos, singulas scholas visitantes, singulis terminis coram Magistris legentibus palam et publice recitentur" (Dyer, *Privileges*, i. p. 155).

³ Peacock, *Statutes*, Appendix A, pp. xi, etc.

⁴ See the curious account of the quarrel with the Pewterers in 1550 (*History of Barnwell Abbey*, Appendix, pp. 28-31; Cooper's *Annals*, ii. pp. 48, 49).

⁵ Henry Gunning, Esquire Bedell from 1789 to 1854; author of *Reminiscences*, etc.

friend and colleague, William Mathew¹ (Senior Fellow and Bursar of Jesus College), to ask him to instruct me in the duties of my office. 'They lie in small compass,' said he, 'and are soon learned.' The art of *carving* we are required to understand *well*, being so constantly called upon to practise it. No man breathing is better skilled in this department than Beverley². He knows the best cuts in a joint, but cannot bear to send them *all* away: he therefore manages to be disputing with one or another during dinner-time, and as nothing puts him out of countenance, he laughs at all remarks, and puts the best slices on his own plate. He stood a little in awe of Dawes, but now that he is no more, he will help about half-a-dozen at the head of the table, and then put the knife into your hands or mine." Mathew then proceeded to state what he considered the most important part of our duty, viz. *punctuality*: "The Statutes of the University," he said, "enjoin the Respondent to dispute from the *first* to the *third* hour. The authorities consider the statutes to be complied with, provided the Disputant is in the box *before* the clock strikes two, and not to leave until after it strikes three. By the statutes," he added, "a person preaching *ad clerum*, must preach *a nonâ usque ad undecimam horam*. In point of practice, the statute is considered to be complied with if the Preacher be in the *Vestry* before the clock has actually struck ten. In the same way, a Congregation fixed for eleven o'clock is considered to begin at ten, at which hour the Congregation bell begins. There are other points of practice," he added, "which are soon learned,"—and, I very shortly discovered, were as soon forgotten. As most of these were founded on a *violation of the statutes*, I inserted them in a memorandum-book, and Matthew permitted me to copy from his book remarks he had previously made.

When I called upon Dr Pennington³ to thank him for the assistance he had given me, he asked if I had made myself acquainted with the duties of my office. I told him that my colleague, Mathew, had promised me assistance, and I hoped with that and my own observation to be soon acquainted with everything that was required. "Your duties," he said, "are threefold: attendance on the Vice-Chancellor, attendance on the University, and '*otium*': this he explained by informing me, that one

¹ William Mathew, Esquire Bedell from 1775 to 1797.

² John Beverley, Esquire Bedell from 1770 to 1827. [Here may be quoted from the *University Calendar* for 1797, Beverley's account of the Bedells: "They are officers for life, they must be men of learning, and have taken the degrees of A.M. They are chosen by the Senate, and have a stipend from the University. Their duty is to wait upon the vice-chancellor and senate upon all public occasions, and solemnities, who (*sic*) they preceed with rods, which were originally white wands of wood, but are at present of silver, and have been much enlarged."]

³ Isaac Pennington, fellow of St John's; B.A. 1767, M.A. 1770, M.D. 1777; Professor of Chemistry 1773-1794; Regius Professor of Physic 1793-1817.

week in three I should have no duties at all. Agreeable as this information was to a man naturally indolent, I did not avail myself of it and although residing in the country, I made a point of being present on all occasions, that I might not lay myself open to the charge of living away from the University. I was never absent unless unavoidably prevented from attending¹."

THE NEW STATUTES.

Lastly, from the New Statutes, confirmed by the Queen in Council, on 27 February, 1882, may be quoted the section² relating to the

"Office of Esquire Bedell

"There shall be two Esquire Bedells equal in rank.

"They shall attend the Chancellor on all public occasions, and perform such other duties as may be defined from time to time by grace.

"Their punishment for neglect of duty shall be regulated by the same conditions as those by which the office of Orator is governed."

¹ Gunning's *Reminiscences*, i. pp. 131-133.

² *Cambridge University and College Statutes, under the Act of 1877*. Statute A, Section 5 (p. 20); *Reporter*, 11 March, 1882.

CHAPTER IV.

ELECTION OF THE BEDELLS.

LET the old Statute¹ (No. 71) be at once quoted: *De consuetudine eligendi Bedellos.*

"Item constitutio approbata est quod bedelli sint eligendi consensu duarum partium totius universitatis regentium et non-regentium, et quod singulis annis in festo Sancti Michaelis, quasi officium deponentes, virgas officii sui in manus procuratoris senioris in prima congregatione post eorundem procuratorum electionem tradere debent, qui diligenter inquireat a magistris de idoneitate bedellorum et eorundem excessu, quibus virgas suas statim retradere debet, nisi delicti qualitas vel eorum negligentia circa ea, quæ sua officia contingunt, dictorum magistrorum iudicio contrarium fieri exegerit: communis et collecta in scholis per certum tempus prætextu sui delecti est denegandæ, vel suspensio ab officio juxta formam statuti præmissi et delicti seu negligentiae qualitatem est eis infligenda."

Next may be quoted the Statute² of Edward VI referring to the Bedells, or rather that part of it which refers to their election:

"Tres erunt Præcones seu Viatores Armigeri pari loco ac munere et unus inferioris loci bedellus. Illorum si quando munus vacaverit cancellarius curabit congregationem regentium et non-regentium intra triduum in horam nonam subsequenti diei vocandam. Tum cancellarius et procuratores primo sua ipsorum suffragia scripta ferent deinde cæterorum præsentium omnium scripta suffragia accipient. Quibus palam ac separatim per seniores procuratorem lectis ille præco renunciabitur quem major suffragantium pars elegerit quem cancellarius jurejurando astrictum ad hoc munus admittet. Pecuniam autem aliquam aut munus aliquod neque cancellarius neque procuratores neque quisquam alius regentium aut non-regentium nec ante electionem nec post pro suo suffragio vel requirat vel oblatum accipiat sed eos ad ejusmodi munera sine ulla mercedis

¹ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 353.

² *Lamb's Documents from the G.C.C. MS. Library*, p. 184.

expectatione aut acceptione eligent quos maxime idoneos atque aptos judicaverint. Et si quis contra fecerit perpetuo infamis jus suffragii amittat. Et quanquam volumus unumquemque præconum aut viatorum sic electum et admissum ad omne tempus vite sue in hoc officio permanere nisi insignis aliqua culpa illius expulsionem atque ejectionem requirat quo diligentius in officio versentur iidem præcones aut viatores post festum sancti Michaelis prima illius termini congregatione baculos suos cancellario tradent qui cum procuratoribus secrete in quodam scrutinio a regentibus et non-regentibus quæret quemadmodum se gesserint num seduli et diligentes administri fuerint," etc.

[The Statute goes on to speak of the confirmation, or reproof, or dismissal of the Bedells; of their stipends; of their attendance on the chancellor, and at disputations, etc.]

This ordinance was repeated¹ almost verbatim in the Statutes of the first and twelfth years of Queen Elizabeth.

It will be noticed that in the later Statute more detail is given as to the mode of election². After the Edwardian Statutes had been delivered to the University—within about six weeks—on June 23rd, 1549, there was an election following on the resignation of William Sherwood. The new officer was chosen in accordance with the new Statutes, as may be seen from the following extract from Mere's *Second Diary*³:

"xxiii Junii. On the sonday they met nott. And at one of the Clocke in thawfter noone Mr Sherwood gave over hys offyce and Mr Flued was chosen by the more part of the Regentes and non regents the Vyc and Proctors only being in the scrutanye every man gevyng his voyce in wrytyng and after his admission the bedells began equal divisyon."

¹ Lamb's *Documents*, pp. 294, etc., 335, etc.

² Attwood, in his *Diary* (pp. 101-102), gives the following account of his election: "1715 Jan^r. 11. Meeting of the Heads to prick a Bedle. The statute de Electione Præconum, statute de Electione Officiarorum, statute de Electione Procancellarii to Declaramus. Pricked and named to the office of Esq. Bedle of this University, Mr Richard Attwood, Mr John Oakely. The V.C. gave the paper to the Senior Proctor, with order to read it first next Convocation. Jan. 12th. *Convocatio horâ nonâ*. The Senior Proctor pricked and named *ut supra*. Statutes *ut supra*. To a scrutiny for electing an Esq. Bedle, votes: Mr Attwood, 82; Mr Oakely, 8. Subscription, Oaths of allegiance and supremacy, *jurabis quod fideliter, etc.* Dissolved." Mr Attwood goes on to say how he treated the members of the University, and of his own College. See p. 107.

³ Lamb's *Documents*, p. 115.

Under the old Statutes we have—during two or three centuries of the existence of the University—scarcely any records of the election of Bedells; during generations the post was held not by graduates, but by well-to-do privileged persons and, as we have seen, it often passed from friend to friend, if not from relative to relative. And even after it became customary for a graduate to be elected, there was still often a relationship between successive holders of the office.

One of the only references to a pre-Reformation election is contained in the Proctors' Accounts for the year 1464-5; where we read¹—in *Grace Book A* :

“Item pro expensis procuratorum in equitando cum literis domino Regi domino Cantuariensi et domino Cancellario anglie pro excusacione vniuersitatis pro eleccione bedelli...xxv^s viij^d.”

Although there are one or two other items under the same date that may refer to the same affair, there is nothing to indicate what had happened amiss at the election, nor who the Bedell was. Alan Semper had probably been in office for some time, and T. Bury and W. Dalton are both apparently mentioned as Bedells in the year 1465. Moreover there is a “Hugh the bedell” named on the same page, but he was doubtless a yeoman Bedell. The reference might be to him as “Chancellor’s bedell,” but it is hardly likely so much stir would have been made about an Inferior Bedell.

If the appointment of the successor to Thomas Adams, who died at the beginning of the year 1555, took place under the old Statute—and the Statuta Antiqua had been restored at the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign—it can only be said that the partiality of Gardiner², Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, for those whom he called “such as be catholique,” led him to override the Statutes of the University. For when the Senate, after three scrutinies, would not choose the Bishop’s “old scholar and servant” William Muryell, whom he had recommended for election, Gardiner forced his candidate upon the University, declaring, “I entend by mine owne authority to appoynt hym to serve the rome.” In the biographical notice of William Muryell

¹ *Grace Book A*, p. 49.

² See Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 94-95.

on pp. 82—84, it will be seen that though the Senate temporarily accepted the Bedell thus thrust upon it, he was shortly afterwards dismissed.

Turning to the later Statute, we find a special instruction that at a vacancy the post should be filled up immediately—the congregation for the election¹ was to be called *intra triduum*, in *horam nonam subsequentis diei*. From the minute details of contemporary events given in Alderman Newton's *Diary*², we see how this direction was carried out. Witness such an entry as the following:

"1670. Thomas Buck bedel died at his house in St Edward's parish on Friday, March 4th, at 9 at night. On Monday, March 7th, William Worts of Cajus College and Vrylne of Pembroke Hall were pricked for Beadle. March 8th, at a Consistory at a full Congregation Mr Worts was elected (Mr Worts 108, Mr Vryln 92)."

In the curious account, however, by Gunning in his *Reminiscences*³ of his own candidature and election as Bedell, we find that although the tragic death of his predecessor took place on September 29th, 1789, "the election was fixed for the 13th of October, the nomination necessarily taking place the morning before."

In the later Statute it will also be noticed that there is a particular paragraph against bribery of any kind. In connection with this instruction, it may be noted that, at the election of John Mere, on the last occasion previously to the date of the Edwardian enactment, the successful candidate "is said to have visited the Regents of custom, not by statute, at the expense⁴ of 27l. 6s. 10d."

In the quotations made above concerning the elections of William Worts and of Henry Gunning, two selected candidates

¹ See a form for admitting a Bedell in *Collectanea*, an. 1563 (Caius MS. 339, 604, pp. 228 b, 229). That curiously talkative Vice-Chancellor, Dr Buckmaster, tells us [Baker, 7041, p. 173] that, on 9 January 1529, he made the following speech: "Most wise and prudent senators, I have caused you to assemble at thys time to elect and chose a comen mynistr, called with us a Bedle, to supply y^e rome and sted of Peter Cheke late departed from y^e present Lyfe—on whose soule Jhū Christ have mercy etc."

² *Diary* (ed. Foster), C.A.S. xxiii. p. 56.

³ Gunning, *Reminiscences*, i. p. 142.

⁴ Masters, *History of C.C.C.*, Appendix, p. 46.

are said to have been *nominated* on the morning previously to the election. This practice grew out of the increasing power¹ of the Heads of Houses. The question came prominently forward at the election which occurred soon after the Restoration, when by the bye there had not been a vacancy in the Bedellship for some 40 years.

"A.D. 1669. On the death of Mr Francis Hughes, a contest² took place between the Heads and the Senate upon a power, the former claiming the *nomination* of two candidates for the post of Squire Bedell. The question hinged upon an interpretation of terms in the Statutes. The 38th Statute it was pretended was ambiguous, and then Dr Gunning, Master of St John's, drew up an interpretation which was signed by all except Dr Brady, Master of Caius College, and Dr Lightfoot, Master of Catharine Hall, who were absent, and Dr Pearson of Trinity College '*who*' *suspended*' and Dr Boldero, Master of Jesus, '*Procancel*, who declared *before, that this right did not belong to the Heads.*'

The Candidates were :—

Marmaduke Urbin (*sic*), Fellow of Pembroke Hall,
John Pecke, Fellow of St John's College,
William Worts, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College.

The latter was the favourite with the Senate.

The Heads claimed the power to interpret under the 50th Statute, which certainly made them both parties and judges. The point was, the meaning of the term '*Bedellorum*'; they said it meant Squire Bedells,—(1) because it is never used for the Yeoman Bedell or Dog Bedell but '*cum nota diminutionis*,' (2) which was brought forward after the interpretation, that the Chancellor always nominated the Dog Bedell."

This account is said

"to have been written by Mr Parham⁴, who was of the deputation of the Senate. It gives a complete account of the strife; the dispute in the Senate, and the transfer of the contest to the arena of the King's Council,

¹ In a volume (No. 99) in the Registry there are preserved some papers referring to the election consequent on the death of Bedell Hughes. Certain doctors protested against "the Heads pricking for the election of a Bedell." On the other hand there are affidavits in which John Buck certifies that he, his brother, and Francis Hughes had been so "nominated and pricked," and that he had heard his predecessor Thomas Brook say the same of himself and his "two fellowe bedles."

² This account is taken from a volume in Jesus College Library, and is printed in the *Cambridge Portfolio*, i. 244-245.

³ The words in italics are erased in the MS.

⁴ Peter Parham, Caius, A.M. 1660, M.D. 1679.

which upon the day appointed was so full as it had never been so thronged at any hearing! A curious description is given of the speech of Mr Ayliffe, the Counsel of the Heads; it was so extravagant an abuse of his client's opponents, as to give strong presumption of the injustice of his case. The conclusion is plaintively related as having gone against the Senate: and there is a light censure upon the character of the policy that decided it."

In the Biographical Notice of William Worts, pp. 102, 103, is given an account of this election, of the support accorded him by the Senate, of the omission of his name in the nomination claimed and made by the Heads, of the reference to the King's Council, of the decision¹ in favour of the Heads and of the confirmation of the election of Mr Peck. It is also related how in the following year, when another election was expected, the King sent a letter mandatory to the Heads requiring them to prick or nominate Mr Worts on the next vacancy. The vacancy occurred immediately afterwards. The Heads obeyed the mandate, nominating Wm Worts and Marmaduke Urlin, with the result that the former was elected.

THE SURRENDER OF THE STAVES.

Both the old and the new Statutes contain provision for the annual² surrender³ of the staves of the Bedells—to the senior Proctor according to the *Statutum Antiquum*, to the Chancellor according to the later regulations. The following is an interesting example of the carrying out of this regulation. In Mere's *Third Diary*⁴, under date 27 November, 1556, is this entry:

¹ The Order in Council is given in full in Cooper, *Annals* iii. 538.

² A further Statute (No. 74, *Commissioners' Documents*, i. 355), which passed the Senate on 26 Oct. 1412, ordered the surrender of the staves "in cujuslibet termini medio, vel circa medium ejusdem."

³ A. P. Humphry, M.A., *On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, C.A.S.* xxi. p. 206. A curious illustration of this "surrender of the Staves" may be quoted from Attwood's *Diary* (p. 27): "1708. Oct. 10. Beginning of the Oct. Term. The Bedles, when they laid down their staves, were excepted against by Dr Hutchinson of Trinity for extorting money from the Inceptors, when they read Greek. The Doctor urged the Statute which says they shall pay 5s. and 4d. *pro intr[ando] in Libros posteriores*. The Bedles custom of a shilling for glove money to be determined by the Heads."

⁴ Lamb's *Documents*, p. 184.

"Item after this congregatio regentium tum ex statuto pro Bedellis when the non regents were dissolved, and when we had delivered upp ovr stavys the Senior Proctor demawnded of us whether we wolde submitt ovr selves to the statutes and thereuppon took pen and inke and called a scrutiny of the regents who fownde Mr Muryell not mete toccupye thoffyce and therefore dismissed hym withowt his staffe."

There is an echo of this custom, with a hint of its neglect, in the following incident recorded by Gunning in his *Reminiscences* (i. 154, 155):

"During the first year of my bedellship, a B.A. of St John's (I think his name was Gardiner) called on me, and said he thought it right to inform me of his intention to be a candidate for my office, which he understood would be vacant the 10th of the following October. On my asking for an explanation, he informed me that several fellows of his college had told him that the election of the Esquire Bedell was annual; that there was always a resignation on the 10th of October, and it was their intention to oppose my re-election; and that he would have a very good chance of being elected into the vacant office. I saw at once that his informants had misunderstood, or had never read the statute applicable to the election of the Esquire Bedell. I thanked him for his communication, and told him, in case I was *turned* out, I should be happy to be succeeded by a man who had behaved so courteously towards me. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that nothing beside the usual proceedings took place on the 10th of October."

The present University Statutes¹, approved in 1882, contain no regulation as to this annual surrender of the Staves.

There is, however, another custom of the surrender of the Staves—that which takes place on the occasion of a visit of the Sovereign. Thus when Queen Elizabeth came to Cambridge in 1564, we read in Matthew Stokes's account²:

"When the Queens Majestie came to the west doore of the church [King's College Chapel]...the Bedells, kneeling, kissed their staves, and so delivered them to Mr Secretary; who likewise kissed the same, and so delivered them to the Queens hands; who could not well hold them all. And her Grace gently and warily redelivered³ them, willing him and other

¹ *University Statutes* (1888), p. 20.

² Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 189.

³ We are told, later on (p. 192), with reference to the canopy borne over Elizabeth by the four doctors, that "the Queens footmen challenged the

magistrates of the University, to minister justice uprightly, as she trusted they did. Or she would take them into her own hands and see to it. Adding, that, although the Chancellor did hault (for his leg was sore); yet she trusted that justice did not hault."

So when Queen Victoria visited¹ the University in 1843, *the Vice-Chancellor* offered to the Queen the Staves of the Esquire Bedells, but her Majesty was pleased to order the Esquire Bedells to resume the same.

Canopie, as a duty *for delivering of the bedills staves*" (see Bishop Robinson's shorter English narrative of the visit).

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, iv. 662.

CHAPTER V.

THE STIPENDS OF THE BEDELLS.

No old custom of the University was more carefully handed down and jealously guarded than the *Visitatio Bedellorum*¹—the payment of the fees, statutory and otherwise, to the Esquire Bedells. Those officers themselves naturally were watchful of their rights. One Bedell reported to his successor such a remark² as this:

“Nota. If a Doctour do dyspute in Lent, he shall gyve to the Bedellys, besyde the Vysytatyon money of the Bachelar, ether the Dyners, or xii^d. in money”;
and so on.

The Senate also was keen to maintain these traditions, which were not merely retained in the *Statuta Antiqua*, but, if any new enactment was passed, such as *Statutum novum*³ de scientiis mathematicis legendis (No. 136), there was added: “onere reliquo erga bedellos nihilominus pro consuetudine in pristino robore permanente.”

If a member of another university⁴ wished to be incorporated at Cambridge,

“Conceditur gracia Bedellis quod nullus cuiuscunque gradus fuerit alterius universitatis hic incorporetur nisi visitet bedellos secundum consuetudinem huius vniuersitatis.”

If a private grace⁵ made some concession to an individual student, it was noted: “sic quod visitet bedellos.”

¹ See Statute 78; *Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 354.

² Peacock's *Statutes*, etc., Appendix A, p. xlix.

³ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 388.

⁴ *Grace Book A*, p. 185.

⁵ *Grace Book A*, p. 44.

If the members of the University should become slack upon the question, there came to the rescue "*Regia Ordinatio*¹ super collectis in utroque jure, ordinario et bedellis solvendis" (3 Henry V).

The stipends thus safeguarded consisted of Fees, Fines², Dinners, Rewards, Bequests, etc. It will be remembered that the Bedells of old had different designations and different duties. There was the Bedellus Theologorum et Decretistarum and there was the Bedellus Artistarum; and when their number was increased to three, there was "the other Bedyll." Naturally, therefore, their fees, etc. differed. When for instance "the Whyte Chanons"³ took their degree, we read:

"The Chanons shall on Saynt Gylbert Day gyve to the Bedellys vij^s. the Bedyll in Dyuytye to have iij^s. iiij^d. the Bedyll in Arte ij^s. and the other Bedyll xx^d.";

and there are entries in the *Grace Books*, etc. which record the payment⁴ of the fees "pro cathedra iuris canonici" and "pro cathedra iuris civilis" paid to the Bedellus in Theologia and to the Bedellus in Artibus respectively, no corresponding fee being assigned to the third holder of the office.

But the abolition of degrees in Canon Law in Henry VIII's time would of course make a difference⁵ in the income (and it may be added in the title) of the Bedellus theologorum et

¹ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. 856 (Statute 76). Fuller, following Caius, gives a very early date to this Royal Decree. He says "We find King Henry the First, in the second of his reign, by order commanding some civilians at Cambridge to perform their acts, and pay the beadles their fees, which they formerly refused" (Priokett and Wright, p. 11). But Caius (*Hist.* p. 125) evidently "mistook the writ of Henry V for one of Henry I" (Cooper, *Annals*, i. 24).

² In the Edwardian Statute *de Officio Procuratorum* referring to various fines, we read "Harum omnium mulctarum triens unus procuratoribus alter *præconibus*, tertius *arario publico* dividatur." (Lamb's *Documents*, p. 131.)

³ Peacock, *Statutes*, etc., Appendix A, p. xlviil.

⁴ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 168, etc.

⁵ In order to remedy these diminished stipends the following Order was made in Edward VI's time: "Decem minæ quæ propter Henrici septimi exequias academiciæ persolvebantur post hac ad stipendia bedellorum augenda conferantur quæ nunc multum imminuta esse intelligimus et alia ratione refici nisi magno scholasticorum sumptu non possunt" (Lamb's *Documents*, p. 149).

decretistarum; and, in the time of the visitation of King Edward's Commissioners¹ on 23 June, 1549, when "Mr Sherwood gave over hys offyce and Mr Flued was chosen," we read that "after his admission the Bedells began equal divisyon." In the Statutes² issued by Edward VI that concerning the Bedells opens as follows: "Tres erunt præcones seu viatores armigeri *pari loco ac munere*," and the words are repeated in the *Statuta Reginae Elizabethae An. 1^{mo}. edita³, et An. xii^{mo}. edita⁴*.

Still, however, at least during the Bedellship of Matthew Stokes, there was at times a difference⁵ of fee to the Senior, Middle and Junior Bedells⁶; and, of course, in the question of Rewards, when perhaps only one of these officers might wait on some distinguished person, or be the bearer of some official document or message, the "Reward" would go to that bedell alone.

FEES, ETC.

The following list⁷ illustrates the variety of payments made to the Bedells. It is taken from Matthew Stokes's Book in the Registry. The mention of the Commemoration of Mr Mere, who died in 1588, of course brings the list down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth⁸; yet it must be remembered that little variation was made in the fees paid to the Bedells. The New Statutes especially enacted that "the accustomed collection"

¹ Lamb's *Documents from the MS. Library of C.C.C.*, p. 115; *Grace Book* under date.

² *Ibid.* p. 184.

³ *Ibid.* p. 294.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 335.

⁵ *Add. MS. (B.M.)*, 5845, p. 376.

⁶ The question of the fees paid to the Bedells in connexion with Stourbridge Fair (see p. 78) need not be detailed. The following is an example: "J. Baxter, Bedell, gave a receipt in 1576 for £20 paid through the Vice-chancellor for expenses about Stirbridge matters" (Registry, vi. 51).

⁷ *Stokys Book*, in the Registry. There is also preserved in the same archives (vol. 99. 15) a similar and very curious "Reckoning of the 3 Esquire Bedells (Stringer, Smith and Brooke) with each other for degrees, exercises, compounders, etc. 1592."

⁸ See No. 49 of Queen Elizabeth's *Statutes*, with its details as to payments (*Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 487).

and "the usual stipends" should be given to those officers. Indeed it was ordered¹ that

"if it shall happen that during any term there is an intermission of the business of the University on account of the severity of the plague, all those, nevertheless, whose business it would have been to have gone through any literary exercise shall be bound to pay to the servant of the University the fees accustomed to be paid during term-time."

Soluciones tantum Bedellis debite.

	Integr.	
Questionista	vij ^s . viij ^d .	ii ^s . vj ^d ob $\frac{2}{3}$
Introitus	5 . 4	21 ^d $\frac{2}{3}$
Inceptor in Artibus	8 . 4	2 . 9 $\frac{2}{3}$
Disputatio Magistrorum	5 . 4	21 $\frac{2}{3}$
Baccalaureus Theologie	16 . 4	5 . 5 $\frac{2}{3}$
Inceptor in Theologia	26 . 4	8 . 9 $\frac{2}{3}$
Baccalaureus in { Musica		
{ Medica	21 ^s .	7 ^s .
{ Jure Civili		
Inceptor in eisdem	42 . 4	14 . 1 $\frac{2}{3}$
Practicans in Chirurgia }	31 ^s .	10 . 4 $\frac{2}{3}$
et in Medica }		
Disputationes extraordinariæ	12 ^d .	4 ^d .
Disputationes in { Theologia		
{ Medica	12 ^d .	4 ^d .
{ Jure		
Conciones ordinariæ	xij ^d .	iiij ^d .
In Compositione	2 ^s .	8 ^d .
Pro quolibet Sigillo	12 ^d .	4 ^d .
In exequiis Magistri Meer	12 ^d .	4 ^d .
In exequiis Magistri Rede	18 ^d .	6 ^d .
Procurator in curia	12 ^d .	4 ^d .
Pro Cathedra Juris	6 . 8	2 . 2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Prandium Benedictum ²	4 ^s .	16 ^d .
Suspensiones Baccalaureorum	—	—
Absentie eorum et Scholarum	—	—
Omnes Doctores et componentes pro invitando Regentes xij ^d . pro Deductione ad Patrem in Vesperis et pro Consilio in die Comitiorum xij ^d }	3 ^s .	12 ^d .

¹ Lamb's *Documents*, p. 138.

² The authorities of Corpus Christi College (formerly often known as St Bene't's), in the year 1548, applied certain moneys annually spent in connexion with Dirges, Exequies and Feasts, for the foundation of six new scholarships. They

We are also in the same MS.¹ told that *Compounders*, namely those "qui possint annuatim expendere xxvj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d., de consuetudine Universitatis dare debent Bedellorum cuique v. virgatas Panni pro Toga et Epomide²."

We also find from this MS. and from the Statutes³ of Queen Elizabeth, the following:

Stipendia solvenda annuatim bedellis ad quatuor anni terminos per academiam et reliqua collegia.

Academia ⁴ solvet annuatim	xij.	xxvj ^s .	viiij ^d .
Collegium Regis		xx ^s .	
Collegium Trinitatis		xxij ^s .	viii ^d .
Collegium Johannis ⁵		xiii ^s .	iiij ^d .
Collegium Reginale; Collegium Christi		vj ^s .	viiij ^d .
Aula Pembrochiæ		vj ^s .	
Collegium Petri		v ^s .	iiij ^d .
Aula Clare; Aula Trinitatis		v ^s .	
Collegium Corp. Chr.; Collegium Gonv. et Caij ⁶ ;			
Collegium Jesu			iiii ^s .
Collegium Magdalensæ; Aula Catherinæ			ii ^s .

The religiosi doctores (monks and friars) also paid special fees; of which the following is an example:

"That a Religious man of the fower orders of Friars, if he commence Doctor, he shall on the Commencement Daye gyve for every Bedell for

allowed, however, 4s. to the Bedells in lieu of their dinners, on the Sunday before or after the Circumcision and on Corpus Christi Day (Masters's *History*, p. 81).

¹ *Stokys' Book*, u. s.

² See p. 37.

³ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. pp. 489, 490.

⁴ In the Registry (vol. 99), there are a number of quarterly receipts for £3. 4s. 2d. signed by Elizabethan Bedells.

⁵ Mayor, Baker's *History of St John's*, ii. 590.

⁶ Venn, *Caius* iii. 161, has the following notes "Entry 1682: 'For the bedles their wages, and for setting the psalmes 5^s. 4^d.' The esquire bedells had, from very early times, attended certain Commemoration feasts, and like other attendants received a small gratuity; but we know nothing of their taking part in the service." "As regards 'their wages,' it may be mentioned that, by the Statutes of Elizabeth, each College contributed towards their stipends, our college paying 4s. a year. They also received a small stipend for every Act and Sermon performed by members of the College before the University. Thus in 1698 we have 'To the esquire bedells for a year's stipend, 4s.; and for four sermons at 8d. each, 2s. 8d.' Entries such as this continue till recent times."

Lyveryes, a Purse, a Gyrdle, and a payr of Knyves¹ (*Zonam, Bursam, et Par Cuttelorum*)."

The allusions to the "Lyveryes" here, and to the "five yards of cloth *pro toga et epomide*," in the old Statute and by similarity in the enactments of Elizabeth, open upon the question of the official dress of the Bedells; but this is dealt with² under another section.

Reference should also be made to the many pairs of gloves presented to the Bedells on various occasions—so many that, as Mr Stanley Leathes³ remarks, "they must have found it difficult to wear them out." But these officers knew what they were about; they would demand the "Payre of gloves, or *ij^d. in money att the lest*." So with regard to their Dinners, to which we are about to turn, in the case of individual donors, they would require "*ether the Dyners, or xij^d. in money⁴*."

CHANGES IN THE FEES.

There have, of course, during the centuries been changes in the amount and in the kind of fees paid to the Bedells.

Some of these alterations have already been referred to; such as those which arose when the study of Canon Law was discouraged, and those which were made in Elizabeth's reign.

It is not necessary, however, to give in detail all the alterations.

But brief reference⁵ may be made to the Grace passed on 24 October, 1800, when the following additions⁶ were made to the Bedell's fees—for B.A., 1s. 4d.; for M.A., 2s. 8d.; for B.D., 5s. 8d.; for 10 year man, 5s. 8d.; for M.B. or LL.B., 8s.; for Doctor, 10s. 8d., etc.

The Graces passed on 20 May, 1858 ought also to be mentioned—which, at the time of the New Statutes, fixed the

¹ Peacock, *Statutes*, etc., Appendix A, p. xlv; *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5845, p. 371.

² See Chapter vi.

³ *Grace Book A*, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

⁴ Matthew Stokes *MS.*, Peacock, pp. li and xlix.

⁵ We learn from Attwood's *Diary*, p. 14, that it was agreed in 1706 to pay a guinea to the bedells "for an extraordinary Congregation."

⁶ See the *Cambridge University Calendar*, 1801.

salaries of the Bedells at £200, and gave compensation to those then holding office for any loss of fees or emoluments which they had been entitled to under the Elizabethan Statutes.

At the last vacancy in the office, a further reduction was made in the salary of future Esquire Bedells—in spite of a strong protest that the dignity of the post should be recognised financially and otherwise.

DINNERS.

Matthew Stokes in the MS. already quoted has an account¹ of "Certayne Dyners for the Bedells." Many of these were to be given by those who took their degrees, etc.; e.g. alluding to the *Religiosi*, he says:

"in the Tyme of the Dysputatyon of Dyvynyte—the monkys shall gyve to the Bedellys for there Labours there Dyners the fyrst Sonday in Advent, and there Dyners in Quinquagesima, etc."

Others were given to them in different colleges, on the days of Commemoration of their founders, or on the festivals of the saints, to which they were especially dedicated: thus the following are enumerated:

"In Exequiis Domini Harvey de Stanton 6 Nov. in *Ædibus Sancti Michaelis*, nunc Collegio Sanctæ et Individue Trinitatis. In Festo Sancti Nicolai, cum Hyeme quam *Æstate*, in Collegio Regio. In Festo Sancti Johannis Apostoli ad Aulam Clere. In Festo Innocentium, ad Aulam Regiam, nunc Collegium Sanctæ Trinitatis. In Festo²—Thome 30 Dec. ad domum Michaelis, &c. In Festo circumcisionis in Aula Pembrok. Die Dominice precedente circumcisionem, in Collegio Corporis Christi, modo ille dies incidit in aliquod convivium prædictorum collegiorum, secus in Diem Dominicum sequentem. In Exequiis Ed. 5th. 5 Maii in Aula Regia. In Exequiis Domine Margaretæ ultimo Junii in Collegio Christi. In annunciatione Beatæ Mariæ in Collegio Gonville et Caii. In Exequiis

¹ Cole MS. xiii. (B.M.), p. 353, quoted by Peacock, *Statutes*, Appendix A, p. xlviii.

² "It is worthy of remark," Cole adds, "that Mr Stokys being a Catholic in his heart, left room for *Satist* to the name of Thomas Becket, on the 30th Dec. in case the times should turn again to that quarter, though he dared not do it in a reign that had expunged him from the Calendar."

D. de Balsom¹ 15 Junii, in Domo Divi Petri. In Exequiis Domine Mariæ 11 Junii, in Aula Pembrok. Item quatuor Jentacula in 4^{ta}. primis Sabathis Quadragesimæ."

The interesting *Diaries* of Mr Mere, printed in *Grace Book A* and in Lamb's *Documents*, shew how much these dinners were appreciated. At certain functions and in the Schools also refreshments were provided. Thus²:

"Item all the Determiners dothe sytte in the New Chappel within the Schooles from one of the Clocke untill fyve, upon Mondaye, Twesdaye, Wensdaye, and Thursdaye in the weeke before Shrove Sondaye, abyding there examynation of so many masters as wyll repayre for that cause thether: and from three to 4 they all have a Potation of Figgs, Reasons, and Almons, Bonnes, and Beer, at the charge of the sayed Determiners, whereat all the Bedells maye be present dayle."

Once, when Mr Mere was new to his work, he missed his share at a somewhat similar ceremony: he tells³ how his senior colleague

"Mr Sherewood hadde a pye and a quarte of Mawmesy sente hym when he sente for hytt. *I had nothing* but thai shewed me afterwarde⁴ yt was but forgotten."

REWARDS.

When honorary degrees were conferred upon distinguished visitors, not infrequently the Bedells were "rewarded" by the

¹ The reference is of course to Hugh de Balsham, 10th Bishop of Ely, the founder of Peterhouse. It is not necessary to comment further here upon these interesting commemorations.

It may be added that there were later additions to these College dinners. For instance, the will of Dr Perse (dated 27 September 1615) enacted "I will that upon my mortuary day 40s. per annum be bestowed and allowed by my Supervisors on a dinner to be kept in Caius College Parlour, where I desire may be invited the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, the three Squire Bedells, etc." (Cooper, *Annals*, iii. p. 98).

² Peacock, *Statutes*, Appendix A, p. xiii.

³ *Grace Book A*, p. 224.

⁴ To pass—with a long interval—to modern times, it will be remembered by older graduates of the University that—until about 80 years ago—the Vice-Chancellor was accustomed to give a dinner every Saturday evening, to which all M.A.'s were in turn invited. At these weekly dinners it was the privilege—or duty—of the Bedells to be present. Readers of Gunning's *Reminiscences* will remember the allusions to Beverley's carving at those dinners; nor will they forget the references to the dinner at Burwell on Mid-Lent Sunday.

personages. The following note¹, by one of these officials on such an occasion in the year 1595, records "the liberality of some and the meanness of others of the noble and worshipful visitors":

"My Lord of Essex gave unto the Bedells v *lib.*

My Lord of Shrewsbury gave the Bedells v *lib.*

Sir William Bowes, 30s.; Sir Edward Wooton, 20s.; Sir Robert Reed, 40s.

Mr Bromley, 20s.; Mr Elmer gave the Bedells, 18s.

Reliqui nihil. And so let them go."

Again when a Bedell was sent with an official message to some new Chancellor or other dignitary, he was often "rewarded." Thus when Richard Ridding went to London in 1626 to announce to the Duke of Buckingham² his election as Chancellor of the University, that unfortunate nobleman gave him a chain worth £100; and when John Peck in 1674 made to the Duke of Monmouth³ a similar notification, that also unfortunate nobleman gave him a "noble reward." So Mr Clarke, the Bedell, received ten guineas from Sir W. Dawes, Archbishop of York, to whom he carried a letter of congratulation from the University on his translation from Chester (see Attwood's *Diary*, p. 88). It is still the custom⁴ that, at his installation, a new Chancellor presents a chain of gold to the Senior Bedell.

BEQUESTS.

It should be added that a few small legacies were from time to time left to the Bedells. The reference is not to individual bequests, such as we shall record on several occasions in the Biographical Notices of the Bedells; but to such grants as that in Dr Perse's will⁵ in 1615: "Item to the 3 esquire Bedells, for the time being, to either of them 3s. 4d. yearly, for ever, 10s." Various small sums were also handed to these officers, in accordance with the benefactor's wishes, at certain Commemorations; see, for instance, Mr Mere's Easter Wednesday service at St Bene't's Church.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. p. 529.

² See p. 94.

³ See p. 102.

⁴ See p. 120.

⁵ Cooper's *Annals*, iii. p. 99.

Such were the varied fees, the numerous dinners or their monetary equivalents, the gloves and other extras, the occasional rewards and bequests from which the stipends of the Bedells were derived. When we also remember that the University¹ and the Colleges frequently granted leases of tenements and lands under favourable terms to these officers, we cannot be surprised that the Bedells often thrived upon their incomes. And though it is true that many of them were generous in their gifts and benefactions, yet we can hardly wonder that there were occasional grumblings among the members of the University at the long list of fees and the amount of some of the items. Among the manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus, for instance, there is a paper² containing "Complaints laid against the Bedells by the Regents at a Congregation Oct. 26, 1550, and the speech of Mr. Meres on the occasion." Among the archives of St John's College, also, there is a record³ of a dispute in 1634 as to the amount of fees claimed by the Bedell. In this case, although there was a compromise, the College was still called upon to pay no less than £83. 10s. 1d. to Mr Buck and Mr Tabor. Yet again, in the year 1708, Dr Hutchinson, of Trinity, formally opposed⁴ the re-election of the Bedells, on the ground that they were "extorting" money from the inceptors, etc. He especially objected to the shilling claimed for "glove money."

Nor need we be surprised if, in the licence allowed at times to the speeches of the Prævaricators, the Bedells and their fees occasionally came in for sarcasm and ridicule. In James Duport's celebrated speech⁵ in 1631, for instance, varying the question "Aurum potest produci per chymicam," after shewing in how many instances "Aurum produci non potest," he adds:

¹ The wine licences, which (as we shall hereafter see) were frequently granted to the Bedells, were sometimes a "very ample" source of income (see Caius *MS.*, 339; 604; pp. 228 b, 229; see also *Graces*, under dates June 4th, 1608, June 28th, 1605, Oct. 24th, 1612, etc.).

² Nasmyth's *Catalogue*, p. 105.

³ Mayor's notes to Baker's *History*, pp. 508, 505.

⁴ Attwood's *Book*, *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5852.

⁵ See Peacock's *Statutes*, etc., Appendix A, pp. xxvi and xxvii; see also Wordsworth's *Scholæ Academica*, pp. 274, etc.

In cæteris casibus quæstio tenet,
Aurum produci potest.

Ex generosi patris filio
Ex quadrato Patris pileo
Ex oblongo Bedelli bacillo
Aurum produci potest.

In a celebrated contest for the Public Oratorship in 1696, Mr Moss of Corpus only lost the appointment by four votes; and the defeat of the future Dean of Ely is said¹ to have been due to the fact that the three Bedells—Messrs Worts, Martin and Pern—voted against him. Dr Moss had offended these officers by his speech as Prævaricator in 1691.

It may be added that Oxford men made the same complaints. Writes Shenstone in his *Odes* (1765), p. 206:

“When College Students take degrees,
And pay the Beadle’s endless fees.”

¹ Stevenson’s *Supplement to Bentham’s Ely*, 122; Cooper’s *Annals*, iv. 82, note (1).

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRESS OF THE BEDELLS.

IN the "Orders of Apparell for Schollers of the Universitie of Cambridge" made by the Chancellor, Lord Burleigh, in 1585, it is stated¹ that "the Bedells...may lawfullie weare such apparell as heretofore hath bene usuall for men of their condition and callinge."

At about this date, or, to be exact, in 1590, John Cobbould painted the remarkable picture² (illustrating certain University customs and costumes) which, perhaps retouched, still hangs in a room at the Registry. Here may be seen half-a-dozen figures of Bedells, wearing their special gowns and caps.

And shortly before this date,—in 1574,—Matthew Stokes, the donor of the painting, notes³, with reference to "Compounders," that at their Commencement, "*de consuetudine Universitatis dare debent Bedellorum cuique v. virgatas Panni pro Toga et Epomide.*"

In this section an inquiry will be made into the dress worn by the Bedells.

But, first, it may be remarked, that in the University and College Statutes and records there are frequent allusions to the *Liveries*⁴ to be worn by the Masters and Scholars. In the

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. p. 418.

² See p. 86.

³ *Add. MS. (B. M.) 5845*, p. 876.

⁴ Masters, *History of Corpus Christi College*, p. 52, is careful to note "This word must not be taken in its present common acception, but must be understood to comprehend such *Gowns* or *Wearing Apparel* in general, as were proper for the Masters, Fellows and Scholars, according to their respective ranks. See (he says) *Liberatura* or *Liberationes*, in the *Glossaries.*"

*Calendar of Patent Rolls*¹, there are many references thenceforth to the payments ordered by royal authority to be made to the Warden of the King's scholars—"8 marks yearly for two robes, one with fur, and one with linen." In the College records we find such entries as the following—taken from an old "Accompt Book" at Corpus—"Porcio Magistri et cujuslibet sociorum pro ambabus *liberaturis*, xj^s. iiij^d."; and, in another year (1481), "Isto anno haberunt *vesturam* de ly mustyrd lywel" (whatever that may mean). So we meet with a sum allotted for suitable clothing by Dr Caius⁴ in his Statutes: "ad vestem solemnem emendam et utendam, quam vulgus scholasticorum *liberaturam* vocat." Many other instances might be given.

To turn, however, to our Bedells.

It may be noted that in the Tailors' Statute⁵ of Oxford (1358), the vestes of Masters and Bedells were to be wide and long as a distinction from the *Laity*.

In the representation of a Bedell on the seal of the old Cambridge *serviens Universitatis*, Walter de Oxonia, figured opposite to and described on p. 52, the dress is not so striking as the staff of the Bedell, who apparently wears a long gown bound round the waist by a girdle; and who has on his head a kind of skull-cap. He does not seem to have a hood over his shoulders.

Later on the Bedell certainly was entitled, and required, to wear a hood. We have seen that Compounders gave the Bedells five yards of cloth "pro Toga et Epomide"⁶; where the *Epomis*

¹ 12 Ed. III, Feb. 24th, 1337-8, etc.

² These payments were continued to the Wardens of King's Hall. It may be added, in the building of that College, the contractors, under date 1387, were each to receive a *tunic* and a *hood*; and we find in the accounts such entries as the following: "Item solutum principali lathamo pro liberatura sua...xiiij^s. iiij^d." (Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* ii. 438, 444.)

³ See Masters' *Hist. of C. C. C.*, Appendix, p. 33. In the body of the work (p. 36) Masters says, under the mastership of Dr Billingford (1398-1432), that the college authorities were "such good oeconomists that we find them constantly laying in cloth for *Liveries* both of Fellows and Servants at *Stirbich Fair*, where they probably bought it upon the easiest terms."

⁴ Venn, *Biographical History of Caius*, vol. iii. p. 205.

⁵ Prof. E. C. Clark, *English Academical Costume*, p. 10.

⁶ p. 27.

seems to be the same as the *Caputium*. Statute 75¹ reads as follows:

"Ordinatum est et concessum per maiorem partem regentium et non-regentium universitatis Cantabrigiensis vicesimo octavo die Junii quod *bedelli utriusque facultatis possunt uti chameleto in caputiis suis tempore estivali.*"

Grace Book B, p. 67, under date 1494, gives the Statute with an addendum:

"Conceditur Bedellis utriusque facultatis pro eis et suis successoribus quod utantur tempore estivali in eorum capiciis chamaeto *sic quod reliquo tempore anni ut solitum est penulis utantur.*"

This substitution of *chamelet* (a mixture of cotton and wool) for the *penula*² (or furred hood) which the Bedells wore during the rest of the year must have been a great convenience to those officials who had to appear in full academical costume almost all day long almost all the year round.

In the will of Juliana Bedel³, the generous wife of Richard de Betelle, there is a bequest⁴ to Robert Makesay⁵ of various articles of dress, including "*toga talaris cum capucio*," "*penula*," etc.—which were doubtless the official robes of her husband as Bedell.

The *Toga* or *Roba talaris*⁶ was the ordinary long gown worn by scholars. In Cobbould's painting⁷ the gowns are more elaborate, and were perhaps those used for special ceremonies. Here may be inserted a few allusions to such state occasions. When the University waited upon King Charles II in 1660 with a congratulatory address, one of the deputation tells us

¹ *Commissioners' Documents*, i. p. 355.

² See Prof. Clark, *English Academical Costume*, p. 19. For *Epomis*, see the same interesting treatise, on the preceding page.

³ See p. 55.

⁴ "The robes appropriate to the degree, etc. were comparatively expensive, as is illustrated by the frequency with which they are specially disposed of by will" (Venn, *u. s.*). See so late an example as the will of Richard Attwood, Bedell from 1714 to 1784 (*Baker MS.* 36, 87).

⁵ Robert Makesay may have been a Bedell, but the writer has not met with his name elsewhere.

⁶ Prof. E. C. Clark, *Acad. Costume*, p. 9.

⁷ See p. 86.



A 16th CENTURY PROCESSION.

[From Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.]

"All of us did meet at Mr Montague's House at 9 of the clock, where we put on *our Formalities*, viz. the D^m their scarlet gowns, the Regents and Non Regents their Hoods and Habits, y^e Bedells their Gownes and velvett Capps¹."

A few years later, at the installation² as Chancellor of the Duke of Monmouth in 1674, we are told that

"the Junior Bedle Mr William Woorts went first in his Bedle's Gown Velvet Cap Gold Hatband and Regent's Hood, holding his Bedle's Staff the round End upward...The two other Esquire Bedles were habited as the former."

Here we see each Bedell wore "his Bedle's gown," which apparently was rather such an embellished and crocketed robe as Cobbould represents than the ordinary graduate's gown now worn by the Esquire Bedells. He had, however, "his Regent's Hood," which may or may not have been the same as the *Caputium* or *Epomis* formerly worn by the Bedells who had not taken a degree. The "Velvet Cap," which is so emphatically mentioned, would be the "beef-eater" kind of head-dress, with its golden cord and tassel, as shewn in the picture at the Registry, and as still worn by LL.D.'s and certain other doctors.

In Matthew Stokes's curious notes³ printed by Dr Peacock, in describing the proceedings on "Ashewensdaye," there is a special Memorandum: "The Bedells in the Tyme of thys Disputation ought to goe in *their Hoods and Quoiffys*"; and in the description⁴ by the same Bedell and Registry, of the elaborate academical functions at the visit of Queen Elizabeth, we read that

"in the time of this disputation [in Great St Mary's Church] the Bedells according to the Custome *put on their quoifs and hoods*, and so entred, and kneeled down. Unto whom, after she had for a little while looked upon their habit, she with her hand beckoned to stand up."

At the visit⁵ of the Chancellor (the Duke of Somerset) in 1717,

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. p. 480.

² Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 561. Allusion in this instance is also made to the gown of the Inferior Bedell.

³ Peacock, *Statutes*, etc., Appendix, p. xiv.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 194, 196.

⁵ Attwood's *Diary*, p. 129.

"the 3 Bedles going before the V.C. in their tufted gowns, velvet caps and hoods, without their coifs, advanced to meet the Chancellor. After compliments, the Bedles turned their staves and preceded the Chancellor, etc."

In the year 1753¹ a deputation from the University waited upon the then Chancellor (the Duke of Newcastle) at Newmarket; among them being Mr Burrough the senior Bedell "in his tufted gown, hood and coif (no staff)." In the same year, when the Duke visited Cambridge on June 15th, the three Bedells "all day appeared in their tufted gowns, coifs, and round caps." On the following Sunday, however, we are told that "the Beadles were in their common habits."

At the laying of the Library Foundation Stone on April 30th, 1755, "the beadles were in tufted gowns, coifs and caps, except Mr Porteus the junior beadle, who had on a Master of Arts' gown." The next day "the Beadles were in common gowns and without coifs."

To take one more instance, when the same Chancellor visited the University in 1758, on Sunday July 2nd during the procession to Gt St Mary's, "the Beadles went in tufted gowns, and coifs (except Mr Dawes who had no coif)."

The Bedell's Gown and its trappings, the special *Caputium* and *Epomis*, the Quoil and the "beef-eater" hat² have however been discarded by the modern graduates who have held this ancient and distinguished office.

THE STAVES, OR MACES, OF THE BEDELLS.

Dwelling upon the complete constitution of the University as revealed in the 13th century "composition" effected by Bishop Balsham in the quarrel as to the authority of the Archdeacon of Ely, Fuller³—quaint as usual—says:

"Behold here the complete body of an University, with the Chancellor the head, the Regents and Scholars the heart, the officers the hands and feet thereof. Of the latter this composition expresseth by name, 1, Bedels, and those two in number, with the *virges* or wands, since, in many years,

¹ Hubbard's *Journal*, pp. 86-88; 44; and 51.

² See Wordsworth, *University Society in the 18th century*, p. 512.

³ Fuller, *History of the Univ. of Camb.* (ed. Prickett and Wright), pp. 51, 52.

grown up¹ to be staves, and these two doubled into four at this day. Some conceived Bedellus² so called 'quasi Pedellus, a pedo,' signifying that ceremonious staff which they manage in their hands; whilst others with more probability derive it from beads (prayers in old English), it being a principal part of his office to give public notice of all conventions for academical devotion, etc."

Fuller here speaks of *Virges* or *Wands*, and of *Staves*; other names by which these insignia of office have been called are *Sceptres*, and *Maces*; with the Latin titles: *Virgae*, *Sceptra*, *Caducea*, and *Baculi*; names used on different occasions and at different periods.

Fuller's remark that the old "virges and wands have since, in many years, grown up to be staves" is strikingly borne out by comparing the wand of the seal³ of the 13th century Cambridge Bedell Walter de Oxonia with the elaborate staves in Cobbould's picture, or with the still larger maces of the present day.

The same historian towards the end of his work (p. 311) writing of the Duke of Buckingham⁴, elected Chancellor in the year 1626, says :

"This duke gave the bedells⁵ their old silver staves, and bestowed better and bigger on the University, with the King's, and his own arms, insculped thereon."

¹ In the 2nd *University Calendar* (1797), said to have been compiled by John Beverley, Esquire Bedell from 1770 to 1827, we read of the Bedells' "rods, which were originally *white wands of wood*, but are at present of silver, and have been much enlarged." No authority is given for the words here printed in italics; but the fact is likely enough, and is supported by the picture opposite p. 52.

² Modern etymologists agree that the word *Beadle*, and the archaic, official forms *Bedel* and *Bedell*, are derived from the Old English *béodan*, to announce, to proclaim. The mediæval Latin is *Bidellus* or *Bedellus*. See Skeat, *E.E.D.*; the *Oxford English Dictionary*; Hatzfeld's *French Dictionary*; Kluge's *Etym. Germ. Dict.*, etc. Rashdall says, characteristically, "It is derived, of course, from *pedum* (a stick)" (i. 198, 194).

³ See p. 52.

⁴ The *Cambridge Portfolio* (i. 245) speaks of the Duke of Buckingham, who was installed Chancellor in 1671, as the donor; but Fuller previously to this date names the former duke, and Cole pointed out his arms, crest and official device upon the maces.

⁵ Messrs Thomas Buck, John Buck and Francis Hughes were the Esquire Bedells at that date, and for nearly half a century afterwards.

It will be noticed that Fuller here speaks of the pre-Buckingham maces as "*silver staves*." The long wand represented in the 13th century Bedell seal was probably made of wood. How soon it was shortened into a mace and dignified with silver is not known; but it can hardly be doubted that some University benefactor—it may be one of the Bedells themselves—would at an early date present more worthy symbols of office. Certainly by Matthew Stokes's time silver or silver-gilt maces were in use; for though it may be true that the evidence of his picture—since retouched or repainted—cannot be relied upon for details, yet the arms of that distinguished Bedell—as seen in the said picture, and at King's¹ and Trinity Hall and at the Pitt Press—shew that somewhat elaborate silver maces were used by our officials.

In a Communication² made to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1879 by Mr A. P. Humphry, the present Senior Esquire Bedell, a singularly interesting account of the Maces is given. This able paper enters with much detail into the history and uses, as well as the ornamentation and inscriptions of the maces, both of the two now in use, and of the two, till recently, preserved at the Registry and formerly assigned to the Senior Esquire Bedell and to the Yeoman Bedell.

It is not, therefore, necessary here to give any further details than may be gleaned from the following notes³ made by Cole the Antiquary under circumstances which he describes at the beginning of the extracts:

"Hearing that the 3 Silver Staves or Maces of the University were going to be melted down, and 3 new ones to be purchased, these being very old and almost worn out; one of them in particular being full of holes at the larger end⁴, I called on the Deputy Vice Chancellor on Friday

¹ See p. 88.

² "*On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells, and the Mace formerly borne by the Yeoman Bedell*," *C.A.S.*, No. xxi. pp. 207-219. The present writer thanks Mr A. P. Humphry for much kind help.

³ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5868, pp. 27 b, and 42 a and b.

⁴ [It may be remarked that the larger knob is carried in the reverse position before the Vice-Chancellor and generally rests downmost (see Humphry, p. 209); though before Royalty "the Bedelles carry y^e great end of y^e Staves upwards" (see Baker *MS.* 42, 140). The Bedell's Staff was carried round end upwards before the Duke of Monmouth in 1674 (see Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 561).]

September 4, 1778 to look at them and take a short account of them. They were given by George Villiers, the first of that name Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor, as is evident from his arms on all of them, and the escallops on the plain part of the staff engraved very thickly in every part of it; they had been all gilt, but the gilding worn out: they are about 4 feet in length; the top part has the arms of King James the First with his supporters, and the upper ridge encircled by a coronet, but not bowed over. On the sides of the bowl part are 4 ornamental divisions and plain within them. From the top to the bottom they are divided into partitions by 5 ringlets ornamented, on 3 of which are little inscriptions on all of them. The rounded part at the bottom have all embossed ornaments and 4 shields

1st. The University of Cambridge;

2nd. The Arms of the Duke of Buckingham and coronet, viz. on a Cross 5 escallops;

3rd. His Crest, a Lion rampant;

4th. His Device as Lord High Admiral, an Anchor.

The tip of the bottom is somewhat pointed. On the 3 circles or rings of the First, which is plainer at top, between the divisions are these Mottos¹:

On the first is

PORTANS VIRGAM DEI IN MANU SUA. EXOD. IV. 20.

ANNON IPSE BACULUS MANUS NOSTRÆ. TOBI. V. 25.

[VIRTUTE DUCE COMITE FORTUNA. CICERO, EP. ad FAM. X.]

On the top of the others, between the 4 ornamental divisions, are a Rose, a Fleur-de-Lis, a Thistle, and a Harp, all crowned royally; and on the ringlets these descriptions, which I took in a hurry, as it grew late and dusky:

DUX TIBI SIT SEMPER TALIS ET ISTE DUX (*sic* for DIU). MART. LP. 12. EP.

FACTÆ SUNT EI VIRGÆ SOLIDÆ IN SCEPTRA REGENTIUM. EZECH. XIX. 11.

DUX ERAT SUPER EOS JEHOVAH CUM EO. 1 PARAL. IX. 20.

¹ Considering the circumstances under which Mr Cole copied these inscriptions, his version of them is fairly accurate. He makes, however, several mistakes, which it is not thought necessary here to reproduce, the true words being supplied from Mr Humphry's paper. Perhaps, however, some of the mistakes may be correctly copied by Cole. This is not improbable, when we remember the curious mistake in the motto under the Duke's arms which on the maces is thus engraved FIDEI COLPICULA CRUX. This is copied, and learnedly explained, in the *Cambridge Portfolio* (pp. 245 and 528), but Mr Humphry quietly remarks that the ducal motto is "Fidei coticula crux." That writer also adds an inscription omitted by Cole, and inserted above in brackets: "Virtute duce comite fortuna" (Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* x. iii. 2).

The Third has a plain top, with partitions ornamented, and these inscriptions on the ringlets embossed round the staves:

TOLLE VIRGAM ET CONGREGA POPULUM. NUM. XX. 8.

ME DUCE CERTUS ERIS. MART. L^{IV}. 1. EP. 4.

VIRGA TUA ET BACULUS CONSOLANTUR ME. PSAL. XXIII. 4.

My Friend, Mr Kerrieh of Magdalen, who is a good draftsman, was desired to give a new design for the new staves: but it did not please. The desire of the University was not to have them like those of the Corporation of Cambridge, which are extremely handsome, 5 of them, silver and gilt. [Mr Cole then adds what his design would have been, and concludes] I do not know what was the form of the old Bedells' Staves. Whatever they were, as those of the Duke of Buckingham are to be melted down, and with £70 more are to procure new ones, it seems right to have the Duke's memory...preserved on them, by having his arms still continued on them, etc."

It will be noticed that the maces are here said to have been "gilt," though the gilding has become almost worn off. Soone¹, writing in 1575, speaks of the Bedell's "gilded staff," and it will be remembered that in Duport's celebrated speech as Praevaricator in 1631, he made several punning allusions to the *golden* staves of the Bedells. One of these has been already quoted²; another was the following:

"Aureus nitor est in stellis
Aurei baculi sunt Bedellia."

With reference to the height of the maces, Fuller³ gives one of the proverbs he is so fond of quoting:

"They fright scholars of a low stature with a jocular tradition, 'that none are to *commence* which are not higher than the bedell's staff'."

To turn from jest to fact, it has been quoted⁴ in the extracts from Cole that the maces were about 4 feet in length. Mr Humphry⁵ is more precise; he says—speaking of the two now in use—"they are from 4 ft. 4 in. to 4 ft. 5 in. in length, and the diameter of the staff itself is 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in." Of the disused mace, formerly carried by Dr Leapingwell and his predecessors—we are told that it is "a little shorter than the others."

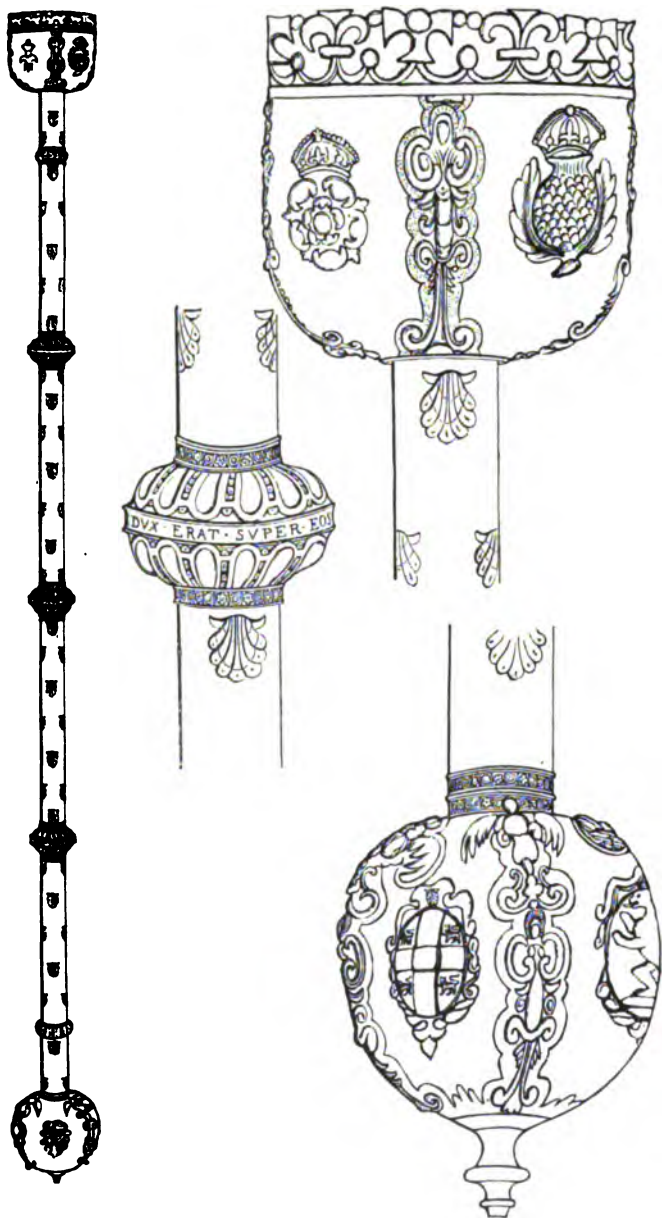
¹ Bruin, *De præcipuis totius universi urbibus*, lib. ii. 1; Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 330.

² See p. 32.

³ *History* (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 119.

⁴ See p. 41.

⁵ A. P. Humphry, *On the Maces*, C.A.S. xxi. p. 209.



Elis. Humphry, del.

THE MACE BORNE BY THE SENIOR ESQUIRE BEDELL.

[From Mr A. P. Humphry's Paper on *Maces*, 1879.]

CHAPTER VII.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF THE BEDELLS.

It is quite remarkable how, down the long list of Esquire Bedells, we find that they so often justified their selection to an office, which required tact and diligence, by shewing themselves keen men of business in other matters.

It has been pointed out on many occasions that they had a good deal to do with the management of property, being often owners or tenants of lands or tenements privately, or managing such for the benefit of the University or for Colleges and Hostels.

It has also been noted how they were frequently chosen to superintend the erection of new structures or the improvement of old buildings. Robert Woodlark¹ and his brother-in-law, John Canterbury, for instance were Clerks of the Works at King's College, and Alan Semper was *praefectus operis* in connexion with the building of the East Front of the Library Quadrangle; while Robert Hobbs and William Pickerell were Clerks of the Works at the re-building of Great St Mary's.

The mention of this Church is a reminder that several of our Bedells, who lived in that parish, were actively engaged in parochial affairs. In that very interesting volume², *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge*, there may be found the names of Bedells who either held the general offices of churchwarden or auditor, or (in pre-Reformation days) the minor wardenships of the crucifix-light, the rood-light, and so on.

¹ See the accounts of these Bedells in the Biographical List, Chapter VIII.

² Edited by Mr J. E. Foster; *C.A.S.* xxxv.

In other parishes, too, in St Edward's (which included the old printing house), in St Botolph's (with the later office), in St Bene't's (where John Canterbury and John Mere had their residences), we also find Bedells holding parochial offices, as well as managing public or private properties.

In early times, John de Wesenham was not only an active Bedell for many years; he not only acted as the agent of certain Colleges and Hostels in the acquisition and transference of property; but he also held the interesting office of University Stationer¹.

In later times, there was quite a succession of our officers who held the post of University Printer—Thomas Brooke, Thomas Buck and John Buck (as well as a third brother Francis), John Peck and Hugh Martin. It is true that some of these (as Mr Bowes² suggests) may have held the office as a sinecure, and have been nominated when a vacancy occurred in order to preserve the right of the University to appoint three printers; but others—Thomas Buck certainly—were keenly interested in the practical business.

To go back again to early times, Thurstan de Hunyngham was a *Capellanus*, while later Philip Morgan was both in Holy Orders and in practice as an M.D.

Thomas de Tuddenham, at the end of the thirteenth century, was a "Pourtrayour"; indeed his son, later on, is simply known as "Thomas Purtrayur junior."

The Pickerells³ seem both to have been engaged in legal affairs, and the younger one, John, took his LL.B. degree. The elder Pickerell was also "collector" for Jesus, and seems to have made the most of the College property. Other Bedells—like Stringer and Redman—were auditors or stewards of St John's. Several of our officers—Matthew Stokes, for instance, and Thomas Brooke, John Peck and John Pern—were notaries-public. Bennett and Mathew and Leapingwell also took degrees in law.

¹ For the duties of the "Bidellus" of the Italian Universities, as regards the hiring out of MSS., etc., see Putnam's *Books and their Makers*, i. 187, and 248.

² *Biographical Notes on the University Printers*, C.A.S. Communications, 5, p. 288.

³ See pp. 70, 81.

John Mere and Richard Ridding also held the post of Gauger to the University.

The occupation of Vintner—a valuable monopoly in the gift of the University—was bestowed, at times, on certain Bedells. Peter Cheke, for instance, and his widow after him, seem to have held the post. John Baxter and Philip Stringer were also *Ænopolæ*. Baxter was perhaps the Stationer mentioned in one of John Mere's *Diaries*.

Hobbs and Mere, Matthew Stokes and Thomas Smith were also Registraries of the University.

Later on, we come to Sir James Burrough, who as an Architect has left his mark on several buildings in the University or the Colleges, and to Thomas Burrowes, whom Cole laughs at in connexion with his appointment as Chimney Sweeper to His Majesty the King—though the monopoly was very acceptable to one who was an exception to the general rule that Bedells were good managers in financial affairs.

Henry Gunning tells us in his *Reminiscences*¹ that, in addition to taking pupils, he was “glad to earn an honest guinea in any other way that presented itself.” Accordingly on the appointment to an Irish Bishopric of Mr Bennett of Emmanuel, “who had been in the habit of taking the vacant Opponencies in the Divinity Schools,” Gunning “ventured to appear in the Opponent's Box.” There were certain Colleges for which Beverley [the Bedell colleague to whom Gunning had so great a dislike] was in the habit of keeping the Opponencies, and for others the Praelector always applied to the author of the *Reminiscences*.

In the volume, just quoted from, there is the following paragraph and letter about another Bedell—William Hopkins of Peterhouse—of whom Gunning writes:

“Soon after his election [in 1827] he commenced taking pupils, and his success as a private tutor has, probably been unparalleled. Being desirous of learning precisely the number of his pupils who had obtained distinguished honours on the Mathematical Tripos, he sent, at my particular request, the following reply to my inquiry:—‘Dear Gunning—From January 1828 to January 1849, inclusive, i.e., in twenty-two years,

¹ *Reminiscences of the University, etc.* (1854), ii. 51.

I have had among my pupils 175 Wranglers. Of these, 108 have been in the *first ten*, 44 in the *first three*, and 17 have been *Senior Wranglers*. Yours very truly, W. HOPKINS. Dec. 4, 1849.”

When he received this letter, Henry Gunning had already been an Esquire Bedell for more than 60 years.

FAMILY CONNEXIONS AMONG THE BEDELLS.

Among the Bedells, especially from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, there were often family relationships¹ which linked them together. This was not unnatural at a time when these officials were not necessarily graduates themselves, but ranked among those “privileged persons” whose interests were so bound up with those of the University.

They were generally men of substantial means, and their public and private dealings with lands and tenements would make the members of the University anxious to continue the connexion from father to son, or from relative to relative.

And the same held good after it happened—as was to be expected—that the younger generation became a member of the University, and the election of graduates became customary.

It is not unlikely that there were two Cambridge Bedells, named Walter de Oxonia, father and son perhaps.

John de Wesenham is so often and intimately associated with another well-known Bedell, William Physwick, that his daughter Johanna—whom we have seen linked with her father and mother in matters of property—may have been Johanna, William Physwick’s wife, whose name is connected with the Hostel bequeathed by and called after her husband. Further there was undoubtedly some family relationship between Johanna Physwick and another lady Juliana Betelle, who was also one of the owners and the benefactors of Physwick Hostel. This Juliana was the wife of another Bedell, Richard, who probably took his surname Betelle, or Bedelle, from his official

¹ For the various illustrations of these relationships given in this section see the several accounts of the Bedells mentioned, in the *Biographical List*, Chapter VIII.

position. Richard and Juliana Betelle were also benefactors to the University and its Colleges in connexion with the School of Divinity of St Margaret and with the Hostel of the same name.

William Physwick the Bedell, of whom we have been speaking, was doubtless the father of John Physwick who held the same office in the next generation; and Bryan, the son of John, was a well-to-do and useful member of the University later on.

John Canterbury "armiger et bedellus Universitatis Cantabrigiae" was a fellow of King's, some of whose property descended to Peter Cheke the well-known Bedell and Agnes his wife, "the cousens and heirs" of Catharine daughter of John and Isabella Canterbury—the latter of whom, by the bye, was sister of Robert Woodlark, Provost of King's, and founder of St Catharine's College, who had himself been "a Beadle of the University" in his younger days.

Agnes Cheke, widow of "Peter the Bedell," speaks in her will of her "Sunn John Pyckerell," who in his will calls himself "LL.B. et bedellus Universitatis." It may be that Agnes, when she married Peter Cheke, was the widow of William Pickerell, also a Bedell—or at least a Deputy holding that office.

A curious illustration of the link which, on the above supposition, Agnes formed between Peter Cheke and William Pickerell, exists in the fact that Dr Caius, in his History¹ dealing with Great St Mary's (of which both these Bedells were churchwardens), calls the latter "*Petrus Pickrelle*."

Passing on, it may be conjectured from the intimate connexion between John Redman and William Sherwood—the former being apparently the guardian of the sons of the latter—that there was some family relationship between these two Bedells.

Again that John Redman's successor was Philip Stringer may be due to the fact that the latter had just previously to the change of bedellship married Maria Redman.

Stringer's successor was probably Thomas Brook, whose son-in-law John Buck held the bedellship for more than

¹ *Historiæ Cantabrigiæ Academiæ Liber Primus*, p. 90.

50 years, during the stirring times of Charles I and Charles II and the intervening days of the Commonwealth.

During the greater part of this long period, his elder brother Thomas Buck occupied the position of Senior Bedell; thus forming a remarkable illustration of those family relationships with which this section has been dealing.

CHAPTER VIII.

BIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BEDELLS.

IN this section it is purposed to give a Biographical List—as complete as possible—of those who have held the office of Esquire Bedell to the University. It will be seen that, with a few exceptions, it is no mere record of names; but that the details of the careers of the officers here given shew how—for some six or seven hundred years—they have identified themselves with the welfare of the University; upon whose history the incidents here recorded again and again throw considerable light.

RALPH PIROUN¹. } These names of *quondam Bedelli istius*
ROBERT GOSNEL². } *Universitatis* occur first in order on
the very ancient list of Benefactors described on p. 2, as
claiming the prayers of the members of the University. It is
pleasant to begin our list with such a cordial recognition of the
happy relationship existing between these officers and the
Society which they served. But we shall see that they are
the precursors of many Bedells who were inscribed, or deserved
to be inscribed, in the Roll of University Benefactors. A con-
sideration of the order in which these names stand compared

¹ There was a lane in St John Zachary's parish called *Peroune's Lane* (see Bateson's *Gilda*, p. 136—and for other forms of spelling see *Arch. Hist.* i. 385). Caius derives the name "a piro" (*Hist.* p. 68); but may it not have been called after our Bedell?

² In the Great Inquisition made at the beginning of Edward I's reign (1279), a certain messuage in St Bene't's parish is said—some time previously—to have been given by Robert Gosnel to his sister Margaret (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 879).

with the eight others given in this ancient list suggests that they lived about the middle of the thirteenth century.

WALTER DE WELLS, whose name stands third in the list referred to, is perhaps alluded to in the *Patent Rolls*¹, 9 Edward I, in the case of Richard son of Hugh le Caretter *v.* Walter le Bedel, or he may be the officer mentioned later on.

THOMAS LE BEDEL. This officer's name occurs as a witness to the deed printed on p. 131, where he is described as *Thomas serviens Universitatis*. This document is dated 1270. Four years later we meet with him in an affair² between John, Prior of Anglesey and *Thomas le Bedel of Caunterbr'* and Matilda his wife, in connexion with the Advowson of the Church of St Michael in Cantebr'. It may be added that in 1292, a Writ³ was issued, referring to a contemplated grant to the University by Matilda atte Wolde (or de Walda) of the Advowson of the same Church. This lady is also mentioned in the Great Inquisition⁴ of Edward I (1279) as holding (by inheritance⁵) the Advowson; so that she was doubtless identical with Matilda the wife of Thomas le Bedel⁶ with whom we are dealing.

In a Rent Roll⁷ of the Prior of Barnwell dated 1279, Thomas le Bedel is said to hold a void place in the Parish of Great St Mary in vico Glomere.

This Thomas is to be distinguished from Thomas de Tuddenham the next on the list.

THOMAS DE TUDDENHAM. The name of this Bedel occurs fourth in the ancient roll of Benefactors previously quoted. He and his wife Margaret are parties in a deed⁸ dated 1296; and there are allusions to this Bedell and his family in two

¹ See the 50th Report of the Deputy Keeper, p. 46.

² *Pedes Finium, Cambs.*, by Walter Rye, *C.A.S. Publications*, xxvi. p. 48; *The History of Bottisham*, by Edward Hailstone, *C.A.S.* xiv. p. 225.

³ *Cambridge Borough Rate Report* (C. H. Cooper), p. 56.

⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 387.

⁵ See Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, iii. 339, and Maitland's *Township and Borough*, pp. 175, 176.

⁶ See also Hailstone's *Bottisham*, p. 185, for reference to further properties belonging to Thomas and Matilda his wife.

⁷ *Barnwell, Liber Memorandum* (ed. J. W. Clark), p. 237.

⁸ "Thomas de Tuddenham and Margareta his wife in Cantebrig and Wod-diton." 24 Ed. IV. *Pedes Finium*, *C.A.S.* xxvi. p. 63.

documents¹ of a later date. The first of these deeds tells how *Thomas Purtrayur junior de Cantabrigia* granted

"Domino Bartolomeo Peryn et Johanni Vavazour Burgensibus Cantabrigie et eorum Hereditatibus, etc., totum jus meum etc. in illo messuagio etc. quod jacet in Vico Scholarum in Parochia Sancte Marie Cantabrigie inter tenement' Scolariū aule Universitatis Cantabrigie et Nicholi Crocheman etc." (1347).

In the following year, John Vavasour, sen., transferred this property to Robert de Brigham, etc. The messuage is here described as having formerly belonged to *Thomas de Todenham Purtrayour*, and the "aula Universitatis" is said to be "nunc vocata *Clarehalle*." Here we see that the Bedell himself, it may be, and other members of the family assumed a patronymic, which suggests an artistic occupation. May it even be that the curious old portrait² of a University Bedell given on the seal of Walter of Oxford was the work of his brother official, Thomas de Tuddenham "Purtrayour"? The name of "Tho. Purtrayer senior" occurs in a *Bede Roll*³ connected with St Mary's Gild.

WALTER OF OXFORD. Fifth in our Roll of Benefactors stands the name of Walter de Oxforde, to whom there are several references in documents during the second half of the thirteenth century. The earliest date at which his name occurs is the fifty-fifth year of King Henry III (1270-1), when William and Margaret Noloth transferred⁴ to him a plot of ground, with a house built on it, in Smith Row in the parish of Great St Mary. Walter of Oxford does not seem to have held the property for long, as in another deed⁵ (which is undated, but which is attested by several of those who witnessed the former document) he handed it on to a neighbour named William le Comber. It may be that he acted in some official, or semi-

¹ See *Add. MS.*, B.M., 5813, pp. 166, 167 and 176, 177.

² See p. 52. They are coupled together in a deed of Joanna de Beynwick in the *Otryngham Book*.

³ *Bateson's Cambridge Gild Records*, C.A.S. xxxix. p. 19.

⁴ See the deed printed in Appendix A, p. 129. The writer is indebted to Mr Arnold Wallis, the bursar of Corpus Christi College, for permission to copy these deeds and the seal. He also desires to thank the Rev. W. G. Searle, for kind help.

⁵ See Appendix B, p. 181.

official, capacity in the transaction; and it has already been pointed out and will hereafter be seen that the Bedells were not infrequently employed as intermediaries in similar cases. Or it may be that it was a private business affair; and we shall afterwards see that the Bedells were again and again engaged in dealings concerning landed and house property.

The seal attached to the second of these deeds is of great interest. It depicts a man bearing a wand of office, and was doubtless used by Walter of Oxford in his capacity of a Bedell. The cap worn resembles that represented in the seal of the Chancellor of the University engraved in Drake's edition¹ of Archbishop Parker's *History*. It is apparently simply a round close-fitting cap. Whether it has an apex, or small point, as in the rebus² adopted by the Wesenhams can hardly be distinguished in the present state of the impression of the seal. This cap, certainly worn by doctors of the period, was perhaps allowed to the officer, who heralded them in processions. The dress, depicted in the seal, like the cap, was not so elaborate as that worn in later times by this official. It has been remarked that Walter of Oxford claims a wand of office. The virges were not yet, to adopt Fuller's words, "grown up to be staves."

In these deeds our Bedell is styled "*Serviens Universitatis Cantabrigiæ*," and so he is designated some eight or nine years later in the *Hundred Rolls*³, where we find two or three allusions to him; e.g. "Walterus de Oxonia serviens Universitatis Cantabrigiæ messuagium tenuit de Monialibus de Prato"; "Wakelinus le Barbur tenet unum Messuagium in parochia Beatæ Mariæ, et reddit dicto Waltero jd."; etc.

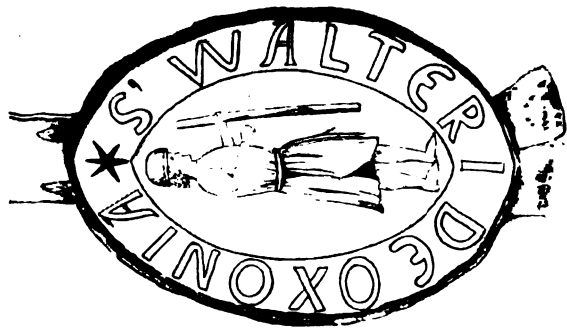
The same name is included in a roll⁴, preserved in the Archives of Corpus Christi College, of certain members of the old gilds which founded that Society; and one of these—a Walter of Oxford—has been identified with the Bedell whom we are recording; but, as the person prayed for is included in a list of those "dead of the plague and since 1349," the dates

¹ *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ* (1729), opposite p. 8.

² Published in 1729.

³ *Rotuli Hundredorum* (1278-9), ii. p. 384.

⁴ *Camb. Gild Records*, C.A.S. xxiv. pp. 19, 21, 22, 24, 49, etc.



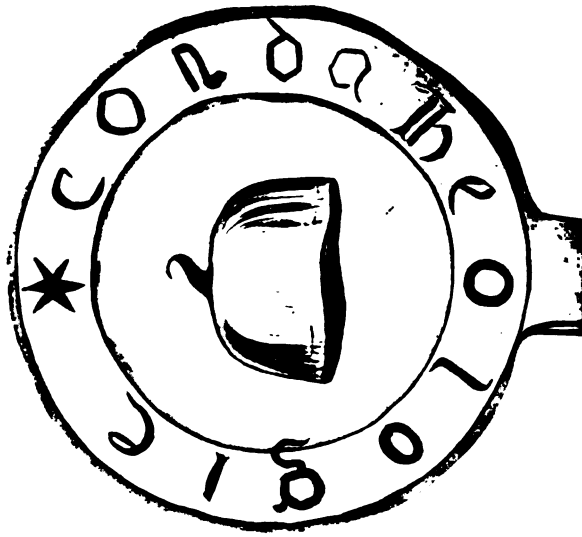
SEAL OF THE 13th CENTURY,
showing a Cambridge Bedell.

[From the Treasury of C.C.C.C.]



A SEAL OF A 14th CENTURY BEDELL.

[From the Treasury of C.C.C.C.]



ANOTHER SEAL USED BY
THE SAME BEDELL.

[From the Treasury of C.C.C.C.]

hardly admit of the identification. It may be, however, that a second Walter of Oxford held office as a Bedell; for, as will afterwards be pointed out, there were several instances of different members of a family holding this University appointment.

WALTER LE BEDEL, whose name is given on page 398 of the second volume of the *Rotuli Hundredorum* as receiving rent from Hugo de Brunn', may be the same University servant to whom the above paragraphs refer.

WILLIAM RUSSELL. Baker, in one¹ of the MS. volumes in the British Museum, quotes "ex carta veteri" a deed dated 15 Edward I (1287), executed during the Chancellorship of Stephen de Heppeworth, where "duo Bedelli" are mentioned, by name William Russell and Robert le Bedell.

ROBERT LE BEDELL. This official, whom we have just noted as serving the University in 1287, may be the same as Robert Carless, soon to be mentioned; or he may be identical with Robert the Bedell given below under dates 1309 and 1315. A Robert le Bedell is named in the Rent Roll² of Barnwell Priory, mentioned on page 50; and the same name (if not the same individual) paid rent³ to St John's Hospital at about the same date.

THOMAS DE WATLINGTON. Of this Bedell, who occurs sixth on the old list of *Academiae Benefactores*, we know nothing further; unless he be one of the same Christian name recorded above.

ROBERT CARLESS. The same may be said of this "quondam Bedellus istius Universitatis," who stands seventh in our roll.

STEPHEN DE EYE occurs eighth in the list of Benefactors. His name, with his official title as Bedell, is found in deeds of the years 1324⁴ and 1326-7⁵. He acted as Harvey de Stanton's agent in the transfer of some property to Michael House: "Ego H. de Stanton Clericus assignavi et attornavi loco meo

¹ *Add. MS.* 7046, 169 b (vol. xix.).

² *Barnwell Liber Memorandum* (ed. Clark), p. 287.

³ See the *St John's Hospital Cartulary*.

⁴ Baker *MS.* 88-286.

⁵ *Ibid.* 88-412.

Stephanum de Eye Bedellum Universitatis ad liberand. plenariam seiam meo nomine Magistro et scholaribus Domus Sancti Michaelis Cantabrigiæ de duobus mesuagiis, etc.”

REGINALD LE BEDEL. This name, under date 1300, is inscribed in a volume¹ still preserved in the Library of Peterhouse.

The old Oxford Kalendars² shew that, at the sister University, a Reginald le Bedel was annually commemorated as a Benefactor on May 10th. It may be that the name in the Peterhouse book refers to that official.

CHRISTOPHER THE BEDEL. In an Inventory³ preserved in Great St Mary's Church is the following detail: “1 Psalterium de dono Chr' quondam Bedelli jam vestutate consumptum.” As this catalogue is dated “c. 1305,” the name ought perhaps to be placed much earlier in this list of Bedells.

ROBERT LE BEDEL. In one of Cole's MS. volumes⁴ in the British Museum, there is quoted a deed referring to “messuagium Roberti le Bedell in albo vico de Cantabrigia.” The document is witnessed by Simon de Repham, Mayor of Cambridge in the third year of Edward II (1309-10). The name probably of the same Bedell—“Robert le Bedel”—occurs in a Subsidy Roll of 1314-15, in the *Cambridge Gild Records*⁵ (Trumpington Ward).

THURSTAN DE HUNINGHAM. The name of this Bedel stands ninth in the document previously quoted—“Preces pro animabus Benefactorum”—used on the morrow of St Catharine's Day. He was one of the University Chaplains⁶, being doubtless identical with “Thurstanus bedellus capellanus,” mentioned in a Roll⁷ in the *C.C.C. Gild Records*, and with “Thurstan le Bedell,” in the

¹ Dr James's *Peterhouse Library*, p. 73.

² Anstey's *Mun. Acad.* vol. ii. p. 372; Wordsworth's *Ancient Kalendar of Univ. of Oxf.* pp. xiv, etc.

³ Caius Coll. *MS.* 204; Baker, iii. 507; Sanders, *Gt St Mary's, C.A.S. Publications*, x. p. 48.

⁴ *Add. MS.* 5813, p. 194.

⁵ Bateson, *C.A.S. Publications*, xxxix. p. 155.

⁶ See Stokes, *University Chaplains, C.A.S. Publications*, vol. xli. pp. 7, 81 and 82.

⁷ Bateson, *C.A.S. Publications*, vol. xxxix. p. 23.

same volume, in a Subsidy Roll¹ (1314–15). While twenty years later, we find from the *Calendar of Close Rolls*², that Robert de Cumberton, a burgess of Cambridge, and Thurstan, the University Bedell, secured a messuage for the enlargement of the house of the Austin Friars—where now the Examination Rooms stand.

THURSTAN THE BEDEL. It is, however, more probable that the last mentioned is a different person, and identical with "Thurstan Bedel of Cambridge," to whom letters dimissory³ as a sub-deacon were granted by Bishop Thomas de Insula of Ely on Jan. 8th, 1349.

HENRY THE BEDEL. In a deed, referred to by Cole⁴ in one of his British Museum volumes, under date 1348, occur the names of "Adam de la More bedellus universitatis Cantabrigiæ, et Henricus Bedellus predicte Universitatis." Nothing further is known of the latter of these officers; but the former

ADAM DE LA MORE stands tenth among the Bedels in the roll of Benefactors.

RICHARD DE BETELLE. We come now to the last of the eleven Bedells who were commemorated in the ancient form so frequently quoted. His name is given in that list as Richard de Betelee. In a document⁵ in the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, dated 1532, he is described more fully as Richard de Betelee de Lyng, and his wife Juliana is said to have been the sister of "Thomas⁶ de Lewes, rector of the moiety of Walpole Church for the portion of Lewes." They were interested in several properties in Walpole. One of these messuages was granted⁷ in the year 1368 "by Richard de Betelee, bedell of the University, and Juliana his wife to William de Gotham, Thomas

¹ *Ibid.* p. 153.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Ed. III (1835), p. 511; see also Hare's *MSS.* vol. i. c. l. in the University Registry.

³ *Register of Thomas de Insula*, *E.D.R.* February, 1893.

⁴ *Add. MS.* 5818, p. 122 b.

⁵ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. iv. A. 2917.

⁶ Thomas de Lewes, who was then in his 40th year, had 14 years previously been presented to his incumbency at Walpole by John Earl of Warren, to whom the King had granted certain advowsons belonging to the Convent at Lewes, during the wars with France (see *Ancient Deeds*, vol. iv. A. 2938).

⁷ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, iv. A. 6300; A. 2935; etc.

March, John de Wysbech, clerks and William Fysshwyk, bedell of the University." Shortly afterwards, however, the property was retransferred to the Betelles. This transaction was doubtless some academic arrangement, for William de Gotham was a well-known member of the University who subsequently became Master of Michael house. In the same year, and perhaps in connexion with the same transaction, Richard and his wife Juliana granted¹ a building (purchased by them in 1354, and afterwards known as St Margaret's Hostel) to John de Burgh, who shortly afterwards granted it to Henry Granby (also a subsequent Master of Michael House) and John Wesenham (also a Bedell of the University). There is—if the dates given by Cooper are correct—a strange delay in connexion with this academical transaction; for we hear nothing more of the affair till—in 1391–2—Granby and Wesenham—with due formalities—passed on the building (St Margaret's Hostel) to the authorities of Michael House. "The King's licence is dated 26th April, 15 Richard II (1392). Juliana Bedell was commemorated as having given to this college [Michael House, afterwards connected with Gonville Hall, and subsequently absorbed into Trinity] St Margaret's Hostel and St Margaret's Schools, and Richard Bedell was one whose exequies were annually celebrated in this House." The Theological School of St Margaret, just alluded to, was situate on part of the ground where Cockerell's Building now stands. It had been sold by Richard and Juliana Bedell in 1368 to the same parties mentioned above, Henry Granby and John Wesenham; and was conveyed by them to Michael House after the long interval referred to—viz. in 1396. Juliana (whom we find from a deed² dated 1370 to have lost her husband) had also an interest in another building adjacent to St Margaret's Hostel. This tenement was given³ to Gonville

¹ For transactions in connexion with the transference of Juliana Bedell's property see besides the Deeds mentioned above, Cooper's *Borough Report*, pp. 83, 84; his *Memorials*, i. 105, 106; ii. 222, 228; Willis and Clark's *Architectural History*, i. 820; ii. 416; etc.

² *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. iv. A. 6907. [See also *Memoranda from Charters* in the Bodleian Library classed as *Cambridgeshire Charters* and numbered 16—32, and 40; where many details are given of the properties held by Richard "le Bedele," and Juliana, and William Fishewyk.]

³ Caius, *Hist. Cantabr.* i. 48, 49; *Annals* (ed. Venn), C.A.S. xl. p. 8, etc.

Hall by William Physwick, one of the Bedells already mentioned in this section, who by his will dated 29 March, 1384, bequeathed the building (generally known as Physwick Hostel) to Gonville Hall subject to the life interest of his widow Joan and of Juliana Bedell. The latter lady, ten years' afterwards, conveyed the tenement to the master and the scholars of the said Hall.

To return to Richard Bedell, we have seen that he was engaged in transactions in 1368; but that his wife was a widow by 1370. We may therefore date his death in the year 1369. It should have been stated at the commencement of the section, that the first mention of this Bedell which the writer has met with occurs in a deed¹ dated 1347. In certain "*Proctor's Indentures*," preserved² in the University Registry, there are, under date 1363, some interesting entries as to moneys which passed through the hands of "*Ricardus Bedel*."

JOHN DE ARUNDELL. A certain house, or houses, between what is now the east end of King's Chapel and the High Street, formerly went by the name of "Arundell's"; from the fact that John de Arundell, a University Bedell, was at one time the owner³. The conveyance to him is dated 27 April, 1355. His name also occurs under the year 1359 in some notes by Fuller⁴.

PETER DE BRAMPTON of Cambridge is noticed as an "apparitor" in the *Otryngham Book* (p. 125), but it is doubtful if this entitles him to be included in the list of Bedells.

JOHN DE WESENHAM belonged to a family which came, as so often happened in the history of Cambridge, from the Eastern counties. The "de Wesenham's" figure prominently in a delightful chapter on "Village Life [in Norfolk] 600 years ago" in Dr Jessopp's *The Coming of the Friars*. Roger de Wesenham and his friend Grosseteste were East Anglians who had studied and taught at Oxford; they both were raised to the episcopal bench, and both supported the incoming Franciscans.

¹ Cooper, *Memorials*, i. 105.

² *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5818, p. 180.

³ These precursors of the *Grace Books* (Univ. Registry *MS.* i. 2) will, it is hoped, eventually be printed. They contain much interesting information concerning early University matters.

⁴ Willis and Clark's *Arch. Hist.* i. 336.

⁵ Baker's *MS. B.*, p. 251.

"The names of several members of the bishop's family occur in the *Rougham Charters* as attesting witnesses," says Canon Jessopp, speaking of Roger de Wesenham, bishop of Lichfield. Bearers of the same name found their way to the Eastern University town; where we find in the rolls¹ of the Gild of Corpus Christi prayers asked "pro anima Eduardi de Wesenham," and in the records² of the estates of the Priory of St Radegund property belonging to Matthew Wesenham of Cambridge and Juliana his wife. To these was doubtless related John de Wesenham, the Bedell, with whom we proceed to deal. It has already been pointed out that the Bedells frequently held various other important positions—official or otherwise—in the University and town; and it must here be noted that John de Wesenham first comes before us as a Stationer of the University. In a document, dated 1361 and preserved in the Treasury of Corpus Christi College, among the witnesses occur "Johannes de Wesenham, Stationarius Universitatis" and "Mattheus de Wesenham Pannarius." The latter of these, the draper, was most probably the Matthew mentioned in the document at Jesus College quoted above.

A few years later, in 1368 and 1369, we find John de Wesenham, then described as a Bedell of the University, associated with Henry Granby (who afterwards became Master of Michael House) in purchasing certain scholastic buildings³, several of which were the property of Juliana wife of Richard Bedelle (or Betelle), whose name has already been mentioned as occurring in the old List of University Benefactors. These buildings—St Margaret's Hostel; St Margaret's Theological School, etc.—have been already dealt with, and so has the lady to whom the University was so much indebted. Here we are specially dealing with John de Wesenham, and his share in the transference of the property. The question is a most difficult one to unravel; for there are only a few allusions to the transaction. If the dates given by Cooper are correct, the properties

¹ *Cambridge Gild Records*, C.A.S. xxix. p. 19.

² *The Priory of St Radegund*, ed. A. Gray, C.A.S. xxxi. p. 89.

³ See Cooper's *Borough Report*, pp. 33, 34; his *Memorials*, i. 105, 106; ii. 222, 228; Willis and Clark's *Architectural History*, i. 320; ii. 416, etc.

which were acquired by Henry Granby and John de Wesenham in 1368 and the following year were not handed over to Michael House till 1396. Why was John de Wesenham concerned in the affair? Was he—as many another Bedell was—merely a useful and trustworthy official? And was he—as again other Bedells were—a University benefactor? Was Juliana Bedelle connected with—was she identical with—Juliana Wesenham mentioned above? And did Richard Bedelle and Juliana obtain their patronymic from the University office with which we are dealing? And have we here another instance of family connexions of University Bedells? As illustrating, and perhaps as touching, the last question, it may be remarked that, in a similar transaction¹—the gift of the house of William Fishewick (or Physwick) to Gonville Hall—the donation made by that Bedell was not to take effect till after the deaths of Joan his wife and of the aforesaid Juliana Bedelle. Again it may be asked—were Joan Fishewick and Juliana Bedelle connected with—were they identical with—Joan de Wesenham and Juliana de Wesenham whose seals we are about to describe?

These seals are attached to a deed preserved like those before mentioned in the Bursary at Corpus. This document* records the transference of a messuage, situate in Great St Mary's Parish and belonging to the college, to John Wesenham, Bedell, Alice his wife and Joan his daughter. It is dated September 16th, 1390, and is attested by Richard Masterman, mayor of Cambridge, and other witnesses. To it are appended the seals* of the three parties concerned, as doubtless to the duplicate lease would be attached the college seal. The first of these seals shews a chevron between what are apparently three Doctors' caps, with the legend *S. JOHIS WESENHAM, BEDEL*; the second has some bird volant; and the third has a cap, similar to, but larger than, the caps in the first seal—surrounded with words which read like *CORDA (?) THEOLOGIE*. If, as is probable, we have here the representation of a doctor's cap, then doubtless, as suggested by Cole, John

¹ See p. 62.

* Appendix C, p. 132. See *Add. MS. (B.M.) 5813*, p. 171.

* See p. 133.

Wesenhams, the Bedell of Theology, and his wife or daughter, had adopted a rebus for their seal.

In an old document¹ which formerly existed in the University Registry—a Bull of Urban the Sixth, dated 1386—it was granted by that Pope:

“Ut Jo^h Wesenhams, W^m Wykmore et W^m Fyssewyke uxoris et Universitatis Bedellis, plenarias de peccatis suis Indulgentias in mortis articulo tanquam beneficia supra omnem taxam, v: plenitudini potestatis singulariter reservatâ dignemini misericorditer concedere cum clericis optimis, ut in forma.”

This personal grant of plenary indulgence to the three Bedells is, in Cooper's *Annals*, i. 131, said to have allowed these married laymen “full power of granting plenary indulgence of sins at the point of death, as the best clerks”!

Whatever was the grant obtained from the Pope, we have here a proof of the substantial position of these officials. William Physwick (and Joan his wife) and William Wigmore (and Margery his wife) will be dealt with in the following paragraphs.

Wesenhams seems to have held office for many years; for his name is found as a witness to a deed in 1358²; and we have seen that he was conducting public transactions in 1396³.

[A John Wesenhams, vicar of Swaffham Prior, exchanged benefices with John de Corby, vicar of “Shenegeye,” on 30 Sept., 1385; but resigned Shingay during the following month (see the *Register* of Bishop Arundell, quoted in the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, no. 130, p. 49).]

WILLIAM WIGMORE. The second of the names mentioned in the above Papal indulgence⁴ was William Wigmore; who first appears as a Bedell at the admission by the Bishop of Ely⁵ of John Donwyck, Chancellor of the University, on 7 May, 1374. Ten years later his name occurs on a similar occasion, when

¹ See Baker *MS.* xlii. pp. 180, a, b.

² *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5813, p. 177. He gave £18 to the Ely Chapter towards the purchase of the manor of Mephale in 1361 (see Stubbs's *Ely Cathedral*, p. 156).

³ Cooper's *Memorials*, ii. 228.

⁴ See preceding name.

⁵ Bishop Arundel; see Baker *MS.* 40, 204.

John de Burgh¹ took the oath on 24 Nov. 1384. But Wigmore is chiefly remembered in connexion with his terrible experiences during the notorious riot of 1381. That outburst of the Town against the University is so well known, that allusion need only be made here to Wigmore's share in the proceedings. The words of Caius² may be quoted:

"Die sequenti nocte intempesta, ad sonitum campanæ S. Mariæ maioris, in prætorium conveniunt. Inde ad sedes Gulielmi Wigmori universitatis bedelli proficiscuntur. Eas incendunt, omnia auferunt, et edicto promulgant publico, ut qui Gulielmum comprehenderent, eum trucidarent; etc."

A similar account from "an ancient Manuscript" is thus translated in the Preface³ to Richard Parker's *History*:

"Item, the next Sunday after the aforesaid Festival, the Mayor and Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the Town, about two Hours before Midnight, caus'd the great Bell in St^t Mary's Church to be rung; at the sound whereof, they assembled in the Town-Hall, and after Proclamation made, they went to the House of *William Wigmore*, then Beadle of the University, destroy'd and burnt the same, conveying away his Goods. They also proclaim'd, That the first that could light on the said *William*, should kill him."

The obnoxious Bedell, however, did not fall into the hands of the mob, and he doubtless obtained compensation for his losses. Where his residence was is not stated, but it was perhaps at "a messuage in St Andrew's between a messuage of the Prior of Ely and Hangmanneslane⁴, abutting on Preachoure Streete"; for a charter⁵ preserved in Jesus College tells us that "Will de Wykmer, University bedel" hired this house in 1373. His widow Margery passed this on to the Nuns of St Radegund, nearly 50 years afterwards, in 1420; and they the next year let part of the property to their Ely neighbours. The portion leased is described as "a void place in St Andrew's parish lately held by Will. Wygmer, University bedel, of the Nuns for a rent of 8s."

¹ Baker MS. 40, 233.

² Hist. Acad. Cant. i. 96-99.

³ History and Antiq. vii-x.

⁴ Hangeman's Lane is now Christ's Lane; and Preachers' Street, St Andrew's Street.

⁵ Gray's St Radegund (C.A.S. Publications, xxxi), p. 104.

A "William Bedell" was present in Little St Mary's Church at the inquiry¹ as to the tithes payable in connexion with the *Stagnum sive Piscaria vocata Milnedam* juxta Cantab. 1379. This may have been the Bedell with whom we are dealing or it may have been the following.

WILLIAM PHYSWICK. We come to the third, and the best-known, of the Bedells mentioned in the Papal indulgence of 1386. We meet with his name, very variously spelt, in certain old documents; for instance, he appears as a witness to a deed² in 1375, where he is described as "Willielmus Ffysshwyh, Clericus, Linc: Dioc:." As we have seen³ when dealing with Richard de Betelle, Physwick was very active in matters academic; he was one of the agents in the series of negotiations by which St Margaret's Hostel and St Margaret's School were transferred to Michael House and Gonville Hall respectively. In the latter case there is (as recorded above) an unexplained delay in the proceedings⁴. To the last-named college Physwick was himself a benefactor, for by his will⁵ dated March 29th, 1384, he left his house to the masters and scholars thereof, subject to the life interests of his wife Joanna and of Juliana Bedelle. Ten years later, as we have seen, the last-named lady granted the house, afterwards celebrated as Physwick Hostel, to Gonville Hall. Caius, in his *Annals*⁶, describes the benefactor as "*Willelmus fisshewicke universitatis Cantabrigiae accisus seu bedellus*." He was also possessed of property⁷ in other parts of Cambridge, having, for instance, a house in St Andrew's Street near that of his fellow-bedell William Wigmore. This was afterwards the residence of his son John Physwick, whom we shall also meet with later on as a University Bedell. The father was also part owner⁸ of

¹ Peterhouse Register, p. 38.

² Bp Arundel's Register, pp. 88 b, 84 a, 85, etc.

³ See pp. 58 and 59.

⁴ Cooper's Memorials, ii. 228.

⁵ Cooper's Borough Report, p. 33.

⁶ C.A.S. Publications, xl. p. 8 (ed. Venn); he uses the same expression in his History, p. 49.

⁷ Willis and Clark, Arch. Hist. ii. 189, 190.

⁸ Ibid. i. 128.

a messuage called "Cosyn's Place," now included in Pembroke College; but whether he¹ was concerned in this estate privately or in some official capacity is not certain.

It may be added, that an entry in the *Corpus Gild Records*², under date 1357 (?), tells us that "Ric. Fizwyche et Elizabeth uxor ejus...intraverunt fraternitatem ex gratia speciali." These may have been the presents of William Physwick.

There are various references to official acts of our Bedell—such as his witnessing the admission³ as Chancellor of Richard le Scrope on 23 April, 1378; but these need not be given in detail.

RICHARD BRISTOW. Baker in one of his London volumes⁴ quotes, "ex carta veteri," an allusion to Richard Bristow as a Bedell when Richard Derham was Chancellor of the University in 1408.

JOHN PHYSWICK. About the year 1418, the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of Cambridge

"presented a petition⁵ to the King's Council, setting forth that Thomas Cressale, Prior of the order of Friars-Hermits of St Augustine, Henry Stokton Friar of that order and Vice-chancellor of Henry Rykingale, Chancellor of the University, Thomas Markaunte and Thomas Thurkell clerks late Proctors, John Fyskwicke bedel, and John Duke⁶ sub-bedel of the University, with many other scholars unknown by their excitation adhering to them, by colour of their grants, unjustly disturbed the petitioners in the use and exercise of divers liberties, &c."

The University sent a detailed reply, in the course of which it was remarked

"that at the time in question, Fishwycke was at York and Markaunte in London, etc."

Allusion has already been made⁷ to the property held by John Physwick⁸ in Preachers' Street. This consisted of two

¹ "Wm de Ffyschewyk, bedel of the University, and his wife Joan, with others, had a grant of the Jesus Brewhouse near Magdalene College till 1384, 5" (*Jesus College Register*, vii. 4).

² *C.A.S. Publications*, xxxix. p. 57.

³ Baker *MS.* 40, 217.

⁴ *Add. MS.* 7046, p. 169 b.

⁵ Cooper's *Annals*, i. 159, etc.

⁶ See p. 125.

⁷ See pp. 1 etc.

⁸ In *Grace Book A* (p. 28), under date 1460, 1, there is a payment to

tenements with gardens, separated by another tenement. Both houses were purchased for the college known as God's House, which was afterwards enlarged into Christ's. The purchase took place in August 1468, the owner being Brian Fisschewyk¹, heir to John the Bedel, who in a deed of 1446 is said to have been the *former* owner. We may, therefore, perhaps presume that John Physwick was dead before that date.

ROBERT WOODLARK. Dr Robert Woodlark, the well-known Provost of King's College and Founder of St Catharine's, is said—in Thomas Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*²—to have been at one time "Beadle of the University." No authority is given for the statement; but it may well be correct, for his brother-in-law, John Canterbury³, also a member of King's, was certainly an Esquire Bedell; though there may be some confusion between the brothers-in-law. Assuming the accuracy of the statement, we have in the future Provost of King's the first instance of a member of the University who held the office of Bedell. As a former Communication⁴ to this Society contains an elaborate paper—by Mr Charles Hardwick—dealing with Dr Woodlark, it is unnecessary to do more than quote the summary of his career given by Harwood⁵:

"Robert Woodlarke [3rd Provost of King's], May 17th, 1452, Hen. VI. 31. S.T.P. He was born at Wakerly, in Northumberland, and was the last [Fellow] the Founder placed in this College. He remained Provost 27 years, in which time he was twice Chancellor of the University, in 1459 and 1462. He was Chancellor of the Diocese of Canterbury. He bought three tenements in Miln Street, and, by a mortmain procured from Edward IV, erected Catharine Hall, constituting a Master and three Fellows. He had been Clerk of the Works at the building of King's College, and Beadle of the University."

"fyschwyk." This seems rather late for John Fishwick. A third official of the family may be thus revealed.

¹ The will of John Grenelane (1 Feb. 1431) directs his executors to find an honest chaplain to celebrate for him in St Andrew's Church for 10 years after his decease, preference being given to Ds Brian Fisschewyk [A. Gray, *The Priory of St Radegund*, p. 81].

² *Alumni Etonenses* (1797), p. 84.

³ See pp. 4, 67 etc.

⁴ *C.A.S. Communications*, No. viii. pp. 329-339.

⁵ *Alumni Etonenses*, pp. 83, 84.

Among the records at Jesus College is a deed¹ by which Robert Woodlark transferred a certain tenement in the parish of St Giles, to which is attached his seal—a lark rising above trees, with the name “Robert.” In Woodham’s *University Heraldry*², another seal is assigned to the founder of St Catharine’s Hall.

[We have thus only been able to recover the names of some two or three Bedells during the first half of the fifteenth century. From 1454 onwards we have the help of the *Grace Books*.]

WILLIAM BEDELL. Corpus Christi College leased about 1459 to a William Bedell³ a piece of ground, upon a portion of which the Civil Law School was afterwards built. Whether this individual was one of the University Bedells is not known. We have seen how often these officials were called only by their Christian names, and we shall notice the same practice well into the sixteenth century. But *Bedell* may have been his surname; if so, however, it would suggest family connexion with the class of officials with whom we are dealing.

CHRISTOPHER. In *Grace Book A*, p. 7, among the payments made by the proctors in the academical year 1455-6, was the following: “Item pro cera rubea empta per Christoferum...jd.” This careful expenditure occurs among the expenses connected with the Schools and the New Chapel. So, a year or two later (p. 13), we find a similar payment: “Item pro stramine scholarum *per bedellos* et mundacione capelle...xijd.” Christopher may, therefore, as the Index suggests, have been one of the University Bedells.

ALAN SEMPER. *Grace Book A*, from the year 1458 onwards, contains a number of references to this Bedell whose name is spelt in various ways. Such an allusion is the following under date 1474-5 (p. 107): “Item solutum Alano Sempar bedello pro mundacione vicorum scholarum...ijjd.” There are, in

¹ *The Priory of St Radegund* (ed. A. Gray), *C.A.S.* xxxi. p. 126; *Communications* (Hardwick), viii. p. 337.

² Woodham’s *Applications of Heraldry to the University*, *C.A.S.* i. 55.

³ *Luard Memorial Series*, *C.A.S.*

⁴ Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* iii. 3.

particular, references to payments made through him towards the expenses of the building of the East Front of the Schools Quadrangle, which the University owed to the generosity of Dr Rotherham, then Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of York. Indeed, in one instance, the Bedell himself makes the entry as follows:

"Memorandum quod ego Alanus semper Recepi xxvij^o die Junii anno regni regis Edwardi iiij. xv. de pecuniis Ciste Communis Summam xiiij^l soluendam de primis recipiendis a domino Cancellario, etc." (p. 106).

We learn from a MS.¹ in Corpus Christi College that

"Mr D. Stoyle et Alanus Semper Bedellus prefeti fuerant operis."

In another Corpus deed² we are told, that "while he lived" Semper had a garden next to a tenement called *le Bell* in Petty Cury in St Mary's parish. Our Bedell died in 1488, and there is a record³: "Alanus Seymper Bedellus bury'd in St Marie's before the Image of St Margaret, where Margaret his first wife lay." In the senior proctor's accounts⁴ for the year in which Semper died, there is the following payment: "Item pro asportacione scamnorum a domo vxoris semper ad ecclesiam beate marie solui...iiijd." It may be added that one of the entries⁵ in a similar *computus* some 12 years before was: "Item prefato alano pro stipendio carpentarii in libraria emendantis sedilia pro scolis...viijd."

[HUGH the Bedel. On pages 48 and 49 of *Grace Book A*, in the accounts for the year 1464-5, there are two payments to Hugh the Bedell in connexion with a journey to the Bishop of Ely. As however there are two other Bedells, W. Dalton and T. Bury, mentioned in the same year, and as we have just seen that Alan Semper was in office as an Esquire Bedell at that date; it is probable that Hugh was the Inferior Bedell. And this suggestion is supported by the wording of the second entry: "Item Hugoni bedello pro conduccione equorum

¹ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 7046, 94 b.

² *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5818, 167.

³ Wren, quoted by Baker, *MS.* 42, 304.

⁴ *Grace Book B*, i. p. 11.

⁵ *Grace Book A*, p. 112.

equitando versus ely...viijd." There will be a section on the Inferior-Bedells.]

W. DALTON. The entry¹ preceding that just quoted reads as follows: "Item pro expensis W. Dalton versus Ely bina vice ...iijs iiijd." A comparison of the two entries suggests that Mr Dalton was one of the Esquire Bedells; and other notices in *Grace Book A* confirm the suggestion. Large sums of money passed through his hands (see page 55); and he was responsible for some expenses with regard to the Schools (see page 72).

THOMAS BURY. This Bedell, who is bracketed with Dalton on certain occasions, also had important financial dealings on behalf of the University, and he is generally dignified with the prefix *Magister*. He is very likely identical with "Thomas Bedellus" mentioned² under date 1477-8, in connexion with a payment always made by some important official.

JOHN CANTERBURY. The official, whom we now meet, is the first who is definitely called an "Esquire Bedell." In a deed dated 4 April, 1473, and preserved at Corpus, relating to Dr Botwright's gift of lands at Over to the college of which he was the seventh Master, the feoffees were Walter Smyth, rector of St Bene't's, and John Canterbury, who is described as "*Armiger et Bedellus Universitatis Cantabrigiæ*." Our Bedell, who was a native of Tewkesbury, was a fellow of King's³, and was one of the clerks of the works⁴ in connexion with the building of that College. He married Isabella⁵, the sister of Robert Woodlark, the Provost, himself formerly an Esquire Bedell. They dwelt in a house at the south-east corner of Plottes Lane; which tenement was in 1479 given by Mrs Canterbury to her brother's foundation, St Catharine's. It was afterwards sold, but again came into the possession of the College, being bequeathed to it by Catharine, widow of

¹ *Grace Book A*, p. 49.

² *Grace Book A*, p. 122.

³ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5813, 154.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 169 (b). See also Mr J. W. Clark's *Communication to the C.A.S.* (Vol. iv. No. xxii, p. 356).

⁵ *Masters, Hist. C.C.C.*, p. 57; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 470.

⁶ Bishop Browne, *History of St Catharine's College*, pp. 27, 28.

William Myles and (according to Masters¹) daughter of John and Isabella Canterbury. If the authorities of St Catharine's College did not fulfil the conditions of the will, the property was to pass to Corpus. The Bedell's "attachment to the latter society probably arose from his being their tenant in the Rectory of Grantchester²." It is interesting to notice, and it shews the intimacy between various Bedells, that Isabella Canterbury was commemorated annually at St Bene't's Church, the arrangement about the funds being made by another Bedell, Peter Cheke, and Agnes his wife, Isabella's "couzens and heirs." Further it may be noted that the property mentioned above subsequently passed into the hands of yet another well-known Bedell and Benefactor, John Mere. John Canterbury and Isabella his wife were buried in St Bene't's Church—for we read in Dowsing's *Journal* of the defacement there of certain "curious ingravings: one was to pray for the soul of John Caunterbury and his wife." These were no doubt brasses; but nothing is known of the monuments specified³.

Grace Book A contains notices of various payments to John Canterbury, in connexion with his official duties as Bedell. Among other expenses repaid to him were those he incurred on a journey⁴ to London in 1482, 3.

LAURENCE BRETHERTON. *Grace Book A*, p. 202, in the University accounts for the year 1485-6, contains the following entry: being a memorandum by the senior Proctor, W. Fitzjohn: "Item ego deliberavi laurencio Bretherton bedello pro mundacione scole et pro renouacione liminis diuersis temporibus in capella et aliis...ixs ixd." But the writer has not met elsewhere the name of this Bedell.

JOHN CARSEY [c. 1485—c. 1508]. The paragraph, succeeding the quotations just made, introduces us to a Bedell who held office for many years. Fitzjohn continues⁵: "Item ego deliberavi Johanni Caresey bedello pro mundacione scholarum curie et platearum circa scolas et vehicione fimi ab inde...xxd." From

¹ *History of Corp. Ch. Coll.* p. 57 n.

² *Masters, ut supra.*

³ *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, xvii. p. 251.

⁴ *Grace Book A*, p. 170.

⁵ *Grace Book A*, p. 202.

the same *Grace Book* (A), p. 219, we learn that payment was made in 1487-8, and "bedello Karsay pro ejus expensis quando vendidit domum apud bury"; while the next *Grace Book* (B, i), p. 12, under the same or the following year, tells of expenses, like the above, for the cleaning of the schools: "et pro missis in universitate celebratis...xxiid." Such payments are continued for more than 20 years; the last notice¹ being dated 1507-8. Shortly afterwards the name of "Peter the Bedel" apparently takes his place. In the 1503 list² of "Privileged" persons appears the name John Kersey.

It may be noted that to the list of Bedells given in the ancient roll of University Benefactors already frequently quoted there are added certain other names, *quae uncis alia manu in margine*. They are the following—*olim Bedelli Universitatis*—John Carsey, John Bedford, John Clark, Peter Cheke, Robert Hobbs, and Thomas Adams. This brings the manuscript down to the date of its former possessor, Matthew Stokes, a Bedell who likewise maintained the generous reputation of his fellow officials.

It should be added that John Carsey was a member of Corpus Christi College³, having been admitted in the year 1480.

PHILIP MORGAN [c. 1490—c. 1507]. This well-known Bedell came up from Eton⁴ to King's in 1471, and proceeded M.A. in 1478. He seems to have been successful with his scholars; and was senior Proctor in 1481-2. The date of his appointment as a Bedell is not known, but he perhaps succeeded Laurence Bretherton. There are many references to his official occupations and expenses in *Grace Book* B, i. from 1492 onwards. He went to London in 1496 about the controversy between the University and the Town, and he visited Lord Oxford at Hedingham in the same year about the "new waytes and mesures." In 1500-1, when he obtained a special grace about proceeding to his M.D. degree, and when he seems to

¹ *Grace Book* B, i. p. 230.

² Cooper's *Annals*, i. p. 270.

³ Masters's *History of C.C.C.* (ed. Lamb), p. 461.

⁴ *Athenae Cantabrig.* i. pp. 17, 18.

have been absent from Cambridge, a payment was made to the vicar of Trumpington: "pro littera missiua matri domini regis de concessione pensionis M. Morgon." He did not commence M.D. till 1506-7. Meantime we sometimes find a deputy acting for our Bedell—as in 1502-3, "Willelmus pekerell pro magistro morgon"; and sometimes we read that he is casual in performing his duties—as in 1504-5, "receptum a doctore Morgane pro una tarditate...xd.," and again in the same year, "ex tardo adventu doctoris Morgane...xd." What was the result of the application to the Lady Margaret we do not know; but the doctor (as we see he was called even before he had fully qualified) was appointed physician to that distinguished Countess. He was afterwards instituted to various clerical appointments in Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire; dying, in 1516, rector of Toft in the last-named county.

WILLIAM PICKERELL [c. 1500—1505]. We have seen that W. Pickerell was at times acting as deputy for Dr Morgan. Whether he was ever actually appointed a Bedell in his own right is uncertain; though he is definitely called "Willielmus Pykerell Bedellus," in *Grace Book B*, i. p. 150, under date 1500-1. Dr Morgan had not, however, resigned at that date; though he was apparently absent from Cambridge. Numerous payments are recorded in the *Grace Book* as paid to him; but they may be classed under different headings—some are certainly for Bedell's expenses, some are lawyer's fees, and some are connected with the funds for the rebuilding of Great St Mary's Church. For Mr Pickerell was an active and useful man; he was one of the early fellows¹ of Jesus College and collector of the rents for that society (1497-8); he was Superintendent² of Great St Mary's works; and he held other important posts.

After Philip Morgan actually became M.D. in 1506-7, we find no further allusions³ to him or to William Pickerell in

¹ Gray's *Hist. of Jesus College*, pp. 86 and 40.

² *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge* (ed. Foster), C.A.S. xxxv.; Index.

³ He is mentioned in connexion with certain legal transactions in the year

connexion with the duties of Bedell; and at about that date Robert Hobbs appears upon the scene. Before, however, we chronicle the successor of Dr Morgan, we must allude to Mr Bedford, who had been appointed a Bedell some years previously.

William Pickerell's will¹, dated 24 January 1512, leaves the bulk of his property to his wife, and to his son John who was under age. We shall afterwards² see that his widow seems to have married Peter Cheke, and that John Pickerell like his father acted as a deputy Esquire Bedell.

JOHN BEDFORD [c. 1495—1510]. We have seen that Mr Bedford was one of the second list of Bedell Benefactors; though we do not know in what special form he benefited the University. He seems from the notices³ in *Grace Book B*, i. to have been active in his official duties; his name occurring from the year 1495 to the year 1509. It appears from an old deed⁴ that John Bedford was living in Trumpington Street in 1507.

ROBERT HOBBS [c. 1505—1530]. A native of Peterborough, Robert Hobbs passed from Eton⁵ to King's College in 1495. According to *Grace Book B*, he took his B.A. in 1499—1500, and his M.A. three years later. He was shortly afterwards appointed Bedell of Arts, and in 1506⁶ he was by grace nominated to the new office of Registrary. Both these University appointments he held for many years; as may be seen from the usual payments, etc., recorded in the *Grace Books*⁷. It will suffice to refer to one special function in which he played a prominent part. When Dr Clyffe had been excommunicated by the Vice-Chancellor and had appealed to Cardinal Wolsey, the name of

1507—8 (*Grace Book B*, i. p. 231). In the *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary the Great* (see Index) there are several allusions to a William Pickerell as late as 1538—9, but this cannot be the lawyer dealt with above.

¹ Preserved at Peterborough.

² See pp. 47, 74, etc.

³ *Grace Book B*, i. pp. 96—219.

⁴ Baker MS. 42, p. 204.

⁵ *Athenæ Cantabr.* i. p. 83.

⁶ Baker MS. 31, p. 167.

⁷ In *Grace Book I*, p. 68, under date 1508, we read: "Item conceditur magistro Hobbys ut possit co-opertus incedere etiam in congregationibus et omnibus actibus scolasticis propter egritudinem quam habet in capite."

Robert Hobbs is specially mentioned¹ among the Bedells in the records of the proceedings. This was towards the end of the year 1529. Soon after this he seems to have resigned the office of Bedell, for in 1530-1 his name is mentioned without the official designation, and in the following year he is styled² "M. hobbis nuper bedellus." Two or three years afterwards, we learn, from John Mere's *First Diary*³, that the opinion of "Mr Hobbys" is listened to with great respect on some disputed question in the old Senate House. He was also for many years keenly interested in the affairs of his parish; the Churchwardens' accounts⁴ of Great St Mary's Church shew him to have been liberal in his gifts and to have held various posts—such as superintendent of the works during the rebuilding, auditor, custodian of certain church goods, and of the chantry chest, etc. Robert Hobbs, who is said to have died about 1543, has his name enrolled in the *Missa pro Benefactoribus*.

PETER CHEKE [c. 1509—1530]. Under the familiar and oft-repeated designation of "Petrus Bedellus," this official is first⁵ mentioned in 1508-9; one proctor always uses the spelling "Petrus Pedellus"; another styles him "Magister Petrus"; while later on he is called "Magister Cheke," or "Cheyke." He was the son⁶ of Robert Cheke of Motston in the Isle of Wight. The following extracts from the *Grace Book* illustrate certain of the extra duties which sometimes fell to his lot as a Bedell: "Item solutum petro bedello⁷ misso domino cardinali et cancellario cum literis pro operibus lutheri...xx⁸"; "Item to maister cheke⁹ for his costes to newmarkett to knowe y^o owre of the Kynges commynge and the maner of his receuyng...ij^s viij^d." The following extract¹⁰ shews our Bedell of Divinity in a curious light. It is taken from certain "Articles

¹ Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*, Appendix, p. 48; *C.C.C. MS.*, cvi. 45.

² *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 171.

³ *Grace Book A*, p. 225.

⁴ *Churchwardens' Accounts* (ed. Foster), *C.A.S.* xxxv. Index.

⁵ *Grace Book B*, i. p. 237.

⁶ *Athenæ Cantabrig.* i. p. 39.

⁷ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 90.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁹ Cooper's *Annals*, i. 338.

¹⁰ That P. Cheke was a Bedell of Divinity is stated in his will, and is evident

of wrong and usurpation done and committed" by the members and officials of the University—according to the complaints of the Town authorities:

"Item, where of late one Peter Cheek, and other certain persons artificers dwelling in the said town, were indicted before the Kings justices of his peace, at the Sessions of peace holden within the same town, for using of unlawful games, and other misorders, contrary to the Kings statute, proclamations, and ordinances; The said Vicechancellor, at the procurement of the said Peter and others, called the said mayor before him, for violating his oath and breaking the privilege of the University, whereby they remained unpunished, to the great boldness of all other offenders."

The Bedell, thus we hope unjustly accused, led a busy life¹, like his friend and fellow, Mr Robert Hobbs, being churchwarden of Great St Mary's Church², auditor, custodian of certain properties during the rebuilding, etc., as well as a liberal contributor to the funds thereof. Indeed he was active to the last, for there are entries in the *Grace Book*³ not long before his death; which event took place soon after the signing of his will on 7 January 1529-30. This document and the will of his wife Agnes are given in Bowtell's MSS.⁴, and printed in the second volume of Cooper's *Annals* (pp. 135, 6). They supply interesting details of their family. We have already seen⁵ that they were connected with John Canterbury, Esquire Bedell, and Isabel his wife. Their only son was afterwards the distinguished Sir John Cheke, but the father did not live to see his success, for the future Orator had only just taken his B.A. degree⁶ when the death of "Magister Petrus" occurred. One of the daughters married William Cecil⁷, from the payments he received in connexion with the chair of Canon Law (*Grace Book B*).

¹ His signature may be seen in the archives of Trinity Hall, in connexion with the benefactions of Master Puregold, whose executor he was. *Baker MS.* 27, p. 328. *Warren's Book*, edited by A. W. W. Dale, M.A. p. 233.

² See the Index of *Foster's Churchwardens' Accounts*, etc., *C.A.S. Publications*, xxxv.

³ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 152; see also p. 43.

⁴ Bowtell, *MS.* vi. 2153, 2155.

⁵ See p. 68.

⁶ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 156.

⁷ From Mrs Cheke's will may be extracted the following reference to Thomas, her grandson, afterwards Earl of Exeter: "Allso I bequeyeth to Thomas Sysall

afterwards Lord Burghley, another was the wife of John Blythe, Regius Professor of Physic. Both Mr and Mrs Cheke left legacies to John Pickerell, Esquire Bedell; and Mrs Cheke¹ calls him "my Sunn John Pyckerell," to whom she bequeathed a considerable estate. If we may infer from this that William Pickerell, the elder, Esquire Bedell or deputy at the beginning of the century, was her first husband, we have another instance of the intimate relationships between various holders of the office with which we are dealing.

Peter Cheke by his will (Cooper's *Annals*, ii. p. 135) ordered his "body to be buryd in St Mary Chyrche before Sent Poll." He was one of the Bedells commemorated in the List of Benefactors mentioned above; and so was

JOHN CLARK [1510—1521], who was a native of Potton. He took a law degree from King's College. He is first mentioned as a Bedell in the year 1510. There are the usual allusions to his official expenses, etc., in the *Grace Book*; as well as to his position as a Churchwarden, etc., of Great St Mary's—for, like the last two or three Bedells, whom we have chronicled, he was most useful in parish matters. He did not enjoy good health, and *Grace Book* I, under date 1517-8, records the following grace passed in his favour:

"Conceditur Magistro Clerke Bedello ut possit incedere capite cooperto temporibus hiemalibus et aliis temporibus frigidis, ac etiam temporibus quibus eum egrotari contingit, propter diversa incommoda et egritudines quas perveniunt sibi ex frygiditate accepta in capite."

He kept, however, to his official duties to the last, for we

my new Fether Bed with the Bowlster to be fylled with fethers and one pelow, one pelowhere, one payre of Shettis, and my Coverynge of polam worke, the colours thereof, red blew and yelow, and a sparver frynged with sylke. And I wyll all the foresseyde things be kept safely in the hands of my Executors untill the sayd Thomas shall come to Schole to Cambrigg, and then immediately to be delivered unto the said Thomas" (Bowtell, *ut supra*).

¹ Thomas Baker, in his *History of St John's College* (p. 106, edn Mayor), allows his prejudice to make the following remark with reference to the parentage of Sir John Cheke—"which was mean enough, his mother sold wine in St Mary's parish, Cambridge, in which quality she may be met with upon the college books." This, I suppose, may be taken to mean that Mrs Cheke retained after her husband's death one of the valuable wine monopolies granted by the University. Baker does not mention the official position of "Magister Petrus."

note, shortly before his death, the following entry¹: "Item Magistro Clarke excogitanti proclamacionem in nundinis stir-bridge...iiij^d." He died in 1521, and was buried in St Mary's Church; in the wardens' book of which we find this note²: "Item resceyued for the buryell of Mr John Clerk Bedill within the Chirche...vj^s viij^d."

THOMAS ADAMS [1521—1555]. To Mr Clark succeeded Thomas Adams, payments to whom commence at once in the *Grace Book*—see the accounts³ for the academic year 1521—2. Such entries continue for more than 30 years; but, as they are very similar to those already quoted in connexion with other officials, examples need not be given. Nor is there much to chronicle with regard to his private career. In Mr Mere's first *Diary*⁴, it is noted, under date 1533—4:

• "At that forsayde congregation [on the next fryday after hallowmesse] & att Michælhowse dyryge was no bedle present but only I. Mr Sherwood was not then cum from lundon & Mr Adams has buryed one of hys howse."

Mr Adams himself died at the opening of the year 1555⁵. His name is the last of the seven Bedells added "in another hand" in Matthew Stokes's *Missa pro Benefactoribus*. His will⁶ was dated 4 January 1555, and proved 8 February following. He left considerable property to his only son John; and amongst the smaller legacies was "an angell" to each of the other two Bedells, Messrs Mere and Bronsted. He also bequeathed a house in Jesus Lane to Catharine Hall for the term of 20 years for a mass and dirige to be said for him.

JAMES URMSTON [1530]. In the chapter on the fees, etc., paid to the Bedells, it has been noted⁷ that the Bedell of Divinity

¹ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 93, 94.

² *Churchwardens' Accounts of Great St Mary* (J. E. Foster), p. 44.

³ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 101.

⁴ *Grace Book A*, p. 227.

⁵ See Bishop Gardiner's letters as to his successors (Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 94, etc.).

⁶ See Baker MS. B, p. 235; and Bowtell MSS. 5, 1091. He ordered "his body to be buried with his fathers in All Hallowes Church." The archives of Jesus College shew that he held other properties in Jesus Lane.

⁷ See p. 26.

was entitled to the sum of six shillings and eight pence from the payments made in connexion with the Chair of Canon Law. Between the death of Peter Cheke and the appointment of John Mere, this payment was on two occasions¹, viz. in 1529–30, and 1530–31, paid to Mr Urmston, who may therefore be included among the Bedells. He took his B.A. in 1517–8, and his M.A. in 1521–2; and was in residence² afterwards.

WILLIAM SHERWOOD [c. 1529—1549]. On the resignation of Mr Hobbs about the year 1529, William Sherwood, of St John's, was appointed Bedell of Arts. He had taken his B.A. degree in 1521–2³; had been appointed to a fellowship⁴ at his college on 15 March 1524; and shortly afterwards took his M.A. Mr Hilliard, who had been appointed a fellow at St John's about the same time as Sherwood, was surety for him with regard to the required *caution*⁵. He held office as a Bedell for 20 years, during which time there are often evidences of active service. Like many of the Esquire Bedells, he owned or managed a considerable amount of property in the town or neighbourhood of Cambridge. For instance, he rented for some years the Chamber⁶ over the Almshouses in the Churchyard of Great St Mary; he hired the Pascall Yard⁷; he was responsible for certain tithes⁸ in connexion with the same Church, holding 10 acres under King's Hall; he bought after they had passed through one or two hands the ground and buildings formerly belonging to the Black Friars⁹, and subsequently acquired for Emmanuel College; and from his own college¹⁰ he leased several properties, the "Harlston landes" in Cambridge and Coton and "the ferme of the great barne" at

¹ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 158, 162.

² *Ibid.* pp. 64, 65, 98, 119.

³ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 99.

⁴ Baker-Mayor, i. p. 282.

⁵ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 126.

⁶ *Churchwardens' Accounts* (ed. Foster), pp. 90, 92, 115, etc.

⁷ The Pascal Yard, where the tennis court of Pembroke afterwards stood, belonged to a Chantry of Great St Mary's Church, and passed on its dissolution to Dr Wendy [Masters, *C.C.C.* p. 81]. See also *Com. Doc.* i. 284.

⁸ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5810, p. 40.

⁹ Shuckburgh's *Hist. of Emmanuel College*, p. 8. According to Fuller's *History* (Priokett and Wright, p. 278), he resided in part of these buildings. See *Arch. Hist.* ii. 688.

¹⁰ Baker-Mayor, i. pp. 854, 865, 382–4, and 448.

the north end of Cambridge, "nigh unto the Stone Cross in Huntingdon waie and the chalke pittes there." He seems, however, to have had certain financial difficulties, for during his lifetime the Johnian property was transferred to his sons George and Reuben¹ and to John Redmayne, afterwards a Bedell; and after his death Mr Redmayne² was granted a lease of certain holts in Trumpington on his undertaking to pay the late William Sherwood's debts to the College. Like several of the other Bedells Mr Sherwood held certain official positions³ in connexion with the parish of Great St Mary. In the second of the Diaries⁴ kept by his Fellow-Bedell, John Mere⁵—that which describes the visitation of King Edward the Sixth's Commissioners—we read, under date 23 June 1549: "At one of the Clocke in thawfter noone Mr Sherwood gave over hys offyce and Mr Flued was chosen, etc."; and, on July 4th, "they delivered a byll to Mr Sherwood of his pensyon." This transaction is thus recorded in the *Grace Book*⁶ (known as Stokes's, see f. 243):

"An order of the King's visitors for Mr Sherwood to have 3l. 6s. 8d. for life, for his surrendering up his office of *Bedel*, to the end, the equality of the stipends might be afterwards had among the Bedells: with a copy of his Patent for the said allowance; July 1549 (3 Edward VI)."

How long he enjoyed the pension is not known, but we have seen that he was dead before⁷ Elizabeth came to the throne.

¹ Reuben Sherwood, who was born at Over, passed from Eton to King's College, of which he became a fellow in 1561. He was afterwards Master at his old school; but subsequently practised medicine, taking his M.D. in 1581. He died in 1598 (see *Ath. Cant.* ii. pp. 269, 270, 551).

² In Mr Redmayne's connexion with Mr Sherwood, we have another illustration of the intimate relationships between certain of our Bedells.

³ *Churchwardens' Accounts*, Great St Mary's Church (ed. Foster); see Index.

⁴ Lamb's *Documents from the MS. Library of C.C.C.* pp. 115, 119. On page 112, a Mr Sherwood "made sute for ther ferme" from Jesus. If this was our Bedell, he was then a member of that College.

⁵ In Nasmith's *Catalogue of the MS. Library of C.C.C.* p. 85, in the manuscript-title: "Litteræ attornatus sub sigillo academise, nominantes W. Thywood et J. Meer bedellos, attorn. in causa contra majorem et ballivos 25 Hen. VIII," *Thywood* is, of course, a mistake for *Shywood*.

⁶ See Caius *MS.* 389-404, pp. 228 b, 229; Ashton, *MS.* Cole 5853, p. 372.

⁷ Baker-Mayor, p. 384.

JOHN MERE [1530—1558]. The Esquire Bedell, whom we now meet, is one of the best known of the whole series; for he was very fond of his pen, and, living as he did for nearly 30 years in the centre of University life, he was continually making notes of what he saw and heard. Three of his *Diaries* remain, and have been printed. One was inserted on some pages in *Grace Book A*¹; two others—accounts of the visitations² of the Commissioners appointed by Edward VI and Mary—fell into the hands of one of the supervisors of his will, that careful preserver of manuscripts and books, Archbishop Parker.

Born at Mayfield in Sussex³, he passed from Eton to King's in 1521, was "admitted to the question" a year before he took his B.A. in 1525–6⁴, and proceeded M.A. in 1529. In the following year he was chosen Bedell of Divinity. At his election "he is said to have visited the Regents of Custom, not by Statute, at the expense of £27. 6s. 10d.⁵" He held other University appointments, being one of the Appraisers⁶, succeeding Mr Hobbs as Registry in 1543, and obtaining a patent for the Gaugership⁶ in 1550. He was made Public Notary by Royal Authority in 1547, and by that of the Pope ten years after. There are many allusions to his official duties in the Grace Books and in the papers preserved among the Parker manuscripts; there are also records of certain legal transactions in connexion with University disputes or with his private property. One such transaction had to do with certain goods seized by him and Mr Sherwood, acting as "searchers at the fayer" at Stourbridge⁷. His expenses in this case were paid jointly by the University and the Town. Among the Corpus MSS.⁸ is

¹ *Grace Book A*, pp. 221–230.

² Printed in Lamb's *Documents from the MS. Library of Corpus*.

³ See Masters's *History of Corpus Christi College*, Appendix, p. 46; and Cooper's *Athen. Cant.* i. 174.

⁴ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 122, 126, 181, 150.

⁵ "Payed to Mr Meres and James Goldsmyth for yer paynes in prasyng y^e churches stuff...iiij^s iiij^d (Trin. Coll. Jun. Burs. Accounts, 1550–51; *Archit. Hist.* ii. 561).

⁶ See also Lamb, *u.s.*, p. 145, etc.

⁷ *History of Barnwell Abbey* (*Bibl. Topograph. Brit.* v. 28); Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 48, 49.

⁸ Nasmith's *Catalogue*, cvi. 345.

one containing "Complaints laid against the bedells by the Regents at a congregation, Oct. 26, 1550, and the speech of Mr Meres" on the occasion. In 1548 he bought the Hostel of St Nicholas from Queens' College¹, and in 1556 he purchased from St Catharine's² "the White Horse" and other property, including the house where John Canterbury formerly lived. His relationship to this Esquire Bedell has already been noticed³. He and the authorities of Michael House entered into a covenant⁴ about the building of a wall between their properties. He had a large circle of friends, to several of whom he acted as executor of their wills—as, for instance, to Nicholas Pilgrim the stationer⁵ and to Dr John Edmundes⁶ the master of Peterhouse. In the days of Queen Mary, although he retained office, he not only maintained friendship with Dr Matthew Parker and other honoured friends in England, but he seems to have helped certain Protestant friends who had fled from the country. He tells us in his *Third Diary* :

"It. the Datary had privat talke with me sayinge that there were greater complayntes made of me to them [the Commissioners] for heresye and mayntayninge heretykes beyonde the sea."

¹ Searle, *History of Queens' College*, i. 238.

² Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 347, 348; ii. 73.

³ See p. 68.

⁴ Nasmith's *Catalogue*, cxvii. 11.

⁵ See Mr G. J. Gray's *Stationers*, p. 66.

⁶ Some years afterwards (1586) in the records of a quarrel between the University and a Mayor of Cambridge named John Edmundes, it was stated that "the saide John Edmundes was the son of Mr Dr Edmundes...oftentymes Vice-chancellor of the Universitie....Mr John Mere then one of the bedells, whose wife being the sister to the mother of the saide John Edmundes, did bring upp the saide John from his childhoode; Whereupon the saide John was called only and knowne by the name of John Mere, untill now of late he was called John Edmundes....The said Mr Mere bedle did give to the saide John Edmundes now Maior, soe many shredes and copes and vestementes as were esteemed worth aboute the somme of iij^{li} vj^s viij^d, etc." The document goes on to complain of the ingratitude and objectionable conduct of the Mayor towards the University (Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 426, etc.).

⁷ Lamb's *Documents*: Queen Mary's Visitation, p. 221. The comparative "greater" in the quotation looks back to the previous sentence: "It. my L. of Chester [Cuthbert Scot] told me that the keepers of the hutches [University Chests] made greate complaynte of me for not paying my monye to the same." It may be added that a Corpus MS. records a "Bond given by John Meres and others for payment of money to the common chest" (Lamb, cvi. 101).

He died on the 13th of April, 1558; and in his will—which bears date a few days before his death—he ordered his body to be buried in St Benedict's Churchyard by that of his late wife; where it was laid accordingly under a monument long since destroyed, with this inscription over it:

"Here lyeth the body of John Meres one of the Esquier Beadles of this University, who gave an^o 1558 his two Dwelling Houses¹ in this Parish to this University, and a remembrance to the Vice-Chancellor and all the officers of this University here present upon the day of his Commemoration² in this Church."

Masters (*Appendix*, p. 46), from whom the preceding sentences are quoted, gives interesting extracts from the will—which, among other gifts, bequeathed "to two of the Bedles [i.e. to the other two Esquire Bedells, Messrs Brumsted and Baxter] 6s. 8d. each, and to the third [i.e. the Inferior Bedell, Richard Robinson] 3s. 4d." He also left to the University "many valuable Collections made by him and bought, consisting of 11 Volumes and 2 Bundles, to be preserved in the Register's office." He was also a benefactor to Corpus Christi and King's Colleges³. In a letter printed at the end of Ascham's English works by a schoolmaster of Hoddesdon named Bennet⁴—written from Louvain, on 6 Oct. 1551—occurs the following sentence:

"As we entered into our In, the Vice-Chancellor, with his bidels, came out of one Inn, the Vice-Chancellor being more like in apparel and porte to our priest of Horningsie, than to the comeliness of Mr Dr Parker, and the bedels more like Harry Barber⁵ and Augar than Mr Adams and Mr Meyres."

It looks, says Cole⁶, as if John Mere were a portly, jolly man as well as his brother Bedell Mr Adams.

¹ These are now appropriated to the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity.

² His death-day (the Wednesday in Easter week) is still commemorated by a University Sermon preached in St Bene't's Church. In Mr J. W. Clark's *Endowments of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 19–21, is given the Indenture drawn up between the executors of Mere's will and the University. Among the gifts specified is one to "the iij bedilles etche of them iiij⁴."

³ Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.* i. 175.

⁴ Bennet's *Ascham*, quarto, 1766, p. 871.

⁵ Harry Barber is paid for the bell-ringing at St Bene't's in *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 101, etc.

⁶ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 6814, 189 b.

JOHN PICKERELL [1537—1539]. In *Grace Book B*, ii.¹, under date 1537—8, there is a payment "Magistro pykrell precon...vj^d." Just before, in the same year, Mr Adams is paid for his duties as a Bedell, and, just afterwards also under the same date, the proctor's return "expences laid owt for the vniuersite by Mr Sheyrwodde and Mr Meris the beddylles." Mr Pickerell was a graduate² in law, and was certainly not "the Chancellor's bedel"; so that, doubtless, like the elder Pickerell³, he was a deputy during the absence of one of the three above-mentioned Esquire Bedells. In the order for the administration of his goods⁴, dated Oct. 1539, he is described as "Johannis Pickerell Bedellus et in Legibus Bacchalaureus." We have seen that he inherited considerable property from Mrs Cheke⁵, the widow of "Peter the Bedel," and that lady spoke of him as "my Sunn John Pyckerell." In the *Thin Red Book*⁶ in the archives of St John's College, there is a Patent, dated 28 Oct. 29 Hen. VIII (1538), to Jo. Pykerell of the office of auditor at a salary of 40s. with allowances. The following entry, in *Grace Book B*, under date 1539—41, is apparently entered after the death of the younger Pickerell: "Item idem M. mere pro cautione D. pecarell...xiiij^s iiij^d"; for this debt (for which Mr Mere had made himself responsible when John Pickerell appeared in the list of Bachelors in Civil Law in the year 1532—3), though it occurs several times in the proctors' lists, does not reappear afterwards.

WILLIAM FLUED [1549—c. 1550]. In Mere's *Second Diary*⁷, that which records the visitation of Edward the Sixth's Commissioners, we read—on June 23, 1549—

"On the sonday they met nott. And at one of the Clocke in thawfter noone Mr Sherwood gave over hys offyce and Mr Flued⁸ was chosen

¹ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 179, 186, 215—217, 229.

² He proceeded LL.B. in 1533 (see *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 178, 179); a curious grace being granted Joanni Pykerell uzorato in *Grace Book I*, p. 268.

³ See p. 70.

⁴ Baker MS. B, pp. 224, 225 : see also pp. 231, 232.

⁵ See p. 74.

⁶ Baker's *History of St John's College* (edn Mayor), i. p. 352.

⁷ Lamb's *Documents from the MS. Library of Corpus*, p. 115.

⁸ In a receipt, preserved at the Registry (vol. 99, 2), our Bedell spells his name "Fluyd."

by the more part of the Regentes and non regents the Vyc. and Proctors only being in the scrutanye every man gevyng his voyce in wrytyng and after his admissioun the bedells began equal divisyon."

This last sentence perhaps means that when Mr Flued was appointed to succeed William Sherwood, he was not styled "Bedell of Arts," but simply one of the Bedells, and that the various special payments to the Bedell of Divinity, the Bedell of Arts, etc., were pooled and equally divided. Flued, who only held office for a short period, was, perhaps, the Mr Flowed whose name appears in the list¹ of Bachelors in Civil Law in the year 1537-8.

WILLIAM BRONSTED [c. 1550-1563]. The successor to Mr Flued was William Bronstead, of Peterhouse², who in 1530-1 figures among the 38 "determinatores huius anni," with the following note³: "d. Bronsted cuius admissio [erat] pro completo gradu." In 1533-4, he is entitled "Professor Artium." In the records⁴ of the visitation of Queen Mary's Commissioners he is often alluded to by Mr Mere his brother Bedell; for instance, on the day after Christmas 1556, when "the iij bedelles [and others] dyned at Peterhowse, none played cardes but Mr Bronsted," and four days later "Mr Bronsted...and I with our wyvys dyned with Mr Vic. at Peterhouse." On one occasion Mr Bronsted gave a party at which at least 19 sat down to dinner. Twice he went to London on University business. In 1562, there is in the *Grace Book* a record of moneys laid out by him in University matters. Like Mr Mere he was regarded with some suspicion by the Commissioners. William Bronsted died⁵ in office in the year 1563.

WILLIAM MURYELL [1555-1556]. On the death of John Adams in the beginning of the year 1555, Bishop Gardiner⁶, the Chancellor of the University, wrote urging the appointment to the vacant Bedelship of his "old servant and scholar" William Muryell. His nomination was supported by "such as

¹ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 218.

² Lamb's *Documents*, p. 190.

³ *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 160, 164 and 187.

⁴ Lamb's *Documents* pp. 194, 195, 197-9, 214, 219, 227, etc.

⁵ Romilly, *Graduati Cant.* p. 498.

⁶ Cooper's *Annals* ii. 94, 95.

were catholique." After three scrutinies, however, he failed of his election; whereupon Gardiner, on March 24th, wrote another letter¹, saying "I entend by mine owne authority to appoynt hym to serve the rome." In November of this year 1555 Gardiner died, shortly before Queen Mary's Commissioners visited Cambridge. On the 20th of that month the Lords of the Council wrote to the Vice-Chancellor saying that the Bishop had "in his latter time" required them to intercede for Muryell's continuance in the office of Bedell; they therefore requested "he might be stayed in that room." Mr Muryell also obtained the support² of the new Chancellor, Cardinal Pole.

In Mr Mere's *Third Diary*³, under date 27 November 1555, we read:

"It. After this congregatio regentium tum ex statuto pro Bedellis when the non regents were dissolved, and when we delivered upp ovr stavys the Senior Proctor demawnded of us whether we wolde submitt ovr selves to the statutes and thereuppon took pen and inke and called a scrutiny of the regents who fownde Mr Muryell not mete toccupyne thoffyce and therefore dismissed hym withowt his staffe."

The next day, however,

"after masse and sermon the Vic. consulted with all the heads in the quere and commanded that Mr Muryell shuld have his staffe delivered and continue in offyce untill candlemass."

"Muryelle's matter" is mentioned again⁴ on Dec. 15th and on January 22nd. On the 29th there was

"A Conference amongst the Heddes for Mr Muriells office but neyther Grace asked for hym nor election made nowe."

On the day before Candlemas (February 1st), Mr Mere gives an interesting and circumstantial account of the final dismissal of his brother Bedell:

"At x congregatio Reg. et non and all the Heddes warned to be there....Then we three bedles commawnded to departe, Mr Muryell

¹ Lamb's *Documents*, p. 170.

² Baker *MS.* xxxiv. pp. 335, 336.

³ Lamb's *Documents*, pp. 184, etc.

⁴ There is a curious entry in the *Diary* (Lamb, p. 188), on Dec. 9th.—"It. at iiii Mr Muryell was called before the Mayre and Aldermen who charged hym with his othe made to the towne etc."

commawnded to go furthe of both howses and Mr Bronsted and I contynued in the non regent house ; then the senior Proctor was commawnded to rede all the statutes concerning the bedells and that done after a lytle consultation with the Heddes and Doctors this Grace viz. *Plac. vobis ut tres sint bedelli non obstante statuto* was axed and denyed in the non regent howse....It. Mr Muryell went home no bedle, for after the congregation ended he offered himself to go before¹ the visitors and my L. of Lynkolne² said unto hym you may put uppe your staffe and thereuppon he departed home."

A few incidental allusions are all that we hear of Mr Muryell after this. During his brief Bedelship, he had been on friendly terms with his brother officers—witness Mr Mere's entry on 3 January 1556: "It. Mr Muryell and his wyffe dyned with me." Those who know John Mere, know that he must have given them a good dinner.

[We learn from *Grace Book* Δ, f. 48, that in 1556 the following Grace was passed: "Conceditur ut eligatur tertius Bedellus in subsidium reliquorum duorum bedellorum."]

JOHN BAXTER [1556—1596]. To the office thus so soon revived John Baxter was appointed. He was a graduate of the University, and a member³ either of Corpus Christi or of St Catharine's. If he was Mr Baxter the stationer, both he and his wife had been examined before Queen Mary's Commissioners and had been cautioned⁴. He was subsequently appointed a Vintner to the University⁵. We have seen that Mr Mere in his will⁶, dated 1 April 1558, remembered his fellow-Bedells, Messrs Bronsted and Baxter. There are various allusions to his official duties—he was one of the Esquire Bedells during the celebrated royal visit of 1564, and Queen Elizabeth took especial note of the quaint costume which they

¹ There is an interesting entry on Jan. 16, 1556, where Mere, after a visitation at King's College, says: "So I had my L. of Chester (Cuthbert Soot) to Xte' College and Mr Muryell had the other Vysytors to trinitie Coll. *throughe the fylds*."

² Dr Watson, the Bishop of Lincoln (late Master of St John's College), was one of the Visitors.

³ Romilly, *Grad. Cantab.* p. 498; *Masters's Corpus* (edn Lamb), p. 457. "Admitted 1544."

⁴ Lamb's *Documents*, pp. 219, 223.

⁵ Cooper's *Annals* ii. 415.

⁶ See p. 80.

wore¹. As a vintner he was engaged in two or three legal controversies², and he was privately on certain occasions in financial difficulties³. In the Churchwardens' Accounts for Great St Mary's Church, there are numerous entries referring to his holding office in the parish as churchwarden, auditor, elector, etc.; to his gifts to the church; to payments made to him as a vintner; and to payments made by him when, for many years, "as on of ye beadells," he presented B.A.'s "as comenssers of asheweaddensdaye⁴." He held office for 40 years, dying in 1596⁵. It may be added that his son John was, in May 1584, appointed by a Grace to act as his deputy. A number of receipts may be seen in a volume (No. 99) in the Registry, in which Baxter and the other Bedells acknowledge the quarterly contribution from the University. Our officer generally spells his name "Bacster," and places a large star or asterisk * after his signature. This also appears on his seal.

MATTHEW STOKES [1557—1585]. This celebrated University official and benefactor was the son of Robert and Elizabeth Stokes of Eton. From the school there he and his brother John proceeded to King's, Cambridge. John afterwards held the appointment of University Orator; Matthew, who became a scholar of his college in 1531 and a fellow in 1534, took his B.A. in 1535—6⁶, and commenced M.A. in 1539⁷. Mr Cole gives the following notice⁸ of him: "Matthew Stokys, M.A., formerly fellow of King's College was born at Eton and was steward to the Lord Paget and afterwards [being elected⁹ on

¹ See p. 37.

² Cooper's *Annals*, ii, pp. 415, 453.

³ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5829, p. 223 b, etc. In a volume in the Registry (99), there is preserved an acknowledgment that Baxter borrowed £20 from Vice-Chancellor Whitgift (28 Nov. 1573).

⁴ *Churchwarden's Accts* (ed. J. E. Foster), C.A.S. xxxv. See Index.

⁵ Romilly, *Grad. Cant.* p. 493. Romilly says "obiit 1596 vel 1597." But as Ridding was certainly in office as a Bedell in December 1596 (see p. 94), Baxter's death doubtless occurred in that year.

⁶ Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* ii. 109.

⁷ *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 219; Baker *MS.* 30, p. 128.

⁸ Cole, *Brit. Mus. MS.* xiii. p. 215; Peacock, *On the Statutes*, App. p. iii.

⁹ Cooper, *u.s.* ii. 109. But Mere seems to be still holding office at the time of his will, April 1st, 1588; as he speaks of his "fellows in office," Brunsted and Baxter.

3 July 1557, probably in succession to John Mere] one of the Esquire Bedells of the University and Registry¹ of the same. He spent much time in collecting a Catalogue of the Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, Proctors and other officers of the University². He gave a curious picture of all the habits of the several degrees and officers of the University to be hung up in the Consistory where it remains³, or rather a newly painted copy⁴ of it with his arms upon it, to this day. He likewise gave to King's College a fine draught of the same as it was designed by the founder, which used to be hung up in the inward Library. In 1585 he built and endowed an Almshouse⁵ in Wall's Lane between the backsides of Sidney and Christ's Colleges in Trinity Parish, for six poor maids or widows, allowing them 9d. per week and a gown annually: it is under the jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor who fills up the vacancies

¹ He became Registry in 1558, *Grace Book A*, p. 51 (b); having, it would seem (Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* ii. 109), for several years previously assisted his predecessor John Mere in the performance of the duties of that office. He was also Registrar of King's College from 1569 to 1576.

² This book still exists in the Registry of the University; and is known as *Statutes, Letters—Stokys' Book*. *A Catalogue of the rectors and chancellors of Cambridge, from Mauritius in the time of Constantine the Great, to the year 1585*, by Matthew Stokys, beadle and register, was printed by Thomas Thomas, 1585. (See *Mich. Hist. Lib.* Hearne's *Sprott*, p. 240. Gough, *British Topography*, p. 219.) This may have been a flysheet.

³ In 1856 it was removed from the Public Library to the Registry. One of the inscriptions on the picture says: *Matheus Stokys Windesorijs, nuper unus ex armigeris Bedellis & hujus Almae Academiae Registrarius, quibus officiis summâ cum fide & omnium bonorum Commendatione per 30 plus minus annos perfunctus est, hanc quam cernis tabulam priori illi longè ampliorem multis in locis auctam & emendatam arte Joh. Corbould pictoris haud vulgaris illustrari curavit & inter cætera grati sui animi in Academiam testimonia eam tanti amoris sui symbolum dictæ Univrsi. dedit 1 Apr. 1590.*

⁴ See Cole *B. M. MS.* xiii. 215.

⁵ On the front is the following inscription on a plate of brass:

Matheus Stokys nuper unus armigerorum bedellorum alma universitatis Cantebrie has ædes Christo servatori suo & sex pauperibus viduis in perpetuum dicavit die xvi^{to} mensis Decembris Anno Domini 1585. Si quis has ædes in alios usus transferre attente, anathema sit a Christo. Amen.

He also gave the university leasehold estates in Chesterton for the maintenance of the almshouses, subject to certain annuities. He ordered "good and easie staires (to be made in the almshouses) for ould and impotent folke."

as they fall. He bequeathed four nobles annually for a Commemoration Sermon to be preached on the 12th of May in St Botolph's Church¹ with some other expenses there. The University Register from 1531 is wrote by him: most probably he wrote it for John Meers, Esquire Bedel from 1523, when he was a scholar of King's. In 1559 he put up a monument for his brother John Stokys, Public Orator of the University, in King's College Chapel on the South side by the South door. By all which testimonies it evidently appears that he was not only a good scholar and antiquary but also a most generous and public-spirited man and one much devoted to the honour of his mother University."

Fuller says of him—*Worthies of Buckinghamshire*²—

"A Register he was indeed both by his place and painful performance therein: for he (as the Poets fain of Janus with two faces) saw two worlds, that before and after the Reformation. In such junctures of time, so great the confusion and embezzling of records, that had not Master Stokes been the more careful I believe that though Cambridge would not be so oblivious as Messala Corvinus who forgot his own name, yet would she have forgotten the names of all her ancient officers. To secure whose succession to posterity, Mr Stokes with great industry and fidelity collected a Catalogue of the Chancellors, Vicechancellors and Proctors. He was a zealous Papist (even unto persecution of others), which I note, not to disgrace his memory, but defend myself, for placing him before the Reformation, though he lived many years in the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

It will be noticed that in the 1585 Almshouse inscription he is styled *nuper* bedellus; indeed it was in that year that he resigned the Bedelship, which he had held *per 30 plus minus annos*. His death took place on 16 Nov. 1591, and he was buried on the 18th at Great Staughton³ in Huntingdonshire. His will was dated 17 Nov. 1590, and (as may be seen from Cooper's quotations⁴ from Bowtell's MSS.) it gives interesting details of the bequests of his large property to his sons and granddaughters, to the University and to Queens', Corpus

¹ He was twice married. His two wives—Elizabeth Parker and Catherine Chambers of Boyston—were both buried at St Botolph's.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, Nuttall's edition, vol. i. p. 205.

³ Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* ii. p. 110.

⁴ *Ath. Cant.* ii. 110; *Annals*, ii. 508—510.

Christi, and St Catharine's Colleges—though the last remainders did not take effect. His son Matthew¹ became a Fellow of Caius College.

In 1558 Matthew Stokes lived in the corner house² in Silver Street, fronting the great gate of Queens' College. This house was afterwards occupied by Thomas Brooke, one of the Esquire Bedells, and subsequently by certain of the University printers—Mr Bentham, for instance, being allowed to reside in it after he had retired from office. His own and his two wives' arms impaled by his in separate shields were formerly in a window in this house. His arms were also on wood, with the date (1588) and initials (M. S.) carved above the shield *in rilievo*; this used to hang over a chimney-piece in a large parlour in this house. It is now preserved in the Pitt Press.

"His Arms: Argent on a Bend engrailed Sable. 3 Dolphins embowed Or. The Crest: Out of a ducal coronet Or, an arm embossed, rested Gules, Cuff Argent holding barwise in the hand, proper a staff* (or mace) of office of the second, ensigned by an imperial crown of the first."

These arms may be seen in the University Printing Press; in a window in the celebrated President's Gallery at Queens'; in a window on the north side of King's College Chapel, within the third little chapel, reckoning from the west end; in a window of the Library of Trinity Hall⁴; etc. The arms may also be seen in MS. 541, Caius College Library—the Rolls of Arms belonging to the Visitation of Cambridge; and again in MS. 542 (1619). These were those of the son Matthew, Fellow of Caius. In the crest, the Bedell's staff is replaced by a spear-head.

¹ Matthew Stokes, jun. by his will left bequests to each of the three Esquire Bedells (Caius, *Annals*, pp. 386, 387).

² Bowtell MS. vii. 2692; *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5845, 214–216.

³ The mace is held barwise in the picture in the Registry (see the illustration facing this page); but upright in the window in King's Chapel. In the picture it is crowned at both ends.

⁴ These arms are thus described by Warren, in his *Book* (ed. Dale, p. 28): "Argent, on a Bend Ingrayl'd Sable 3 Dolphins embow'd of y^e Field. For y^e Crest, on a Helmet mantl'd Gules, Doubl'd Argent, a Dexter Arm Gules, Cuff'd at y^e Wrist argent, proceeding from a Crown and holding a Mace Or." Warren adds: "The same arms are in y^e University Consistory by y^e name of Stokys."



THE ARMS OF AN ESQUIRE BEDELL (MATTHEW STOKES).

Shewing a Mace held bar-wise.

[From a Picture, c. 1590, in the Registry.]

JOHN REDMAN [1563—c. 1579]. "9 July 1563. Mr Jo. Redmayn¹ electus Bedellus in locum Magistri Brumsted nuper mortui." Mr Redman, who was a member of Peterhouse², was, like many other of the Bedells, much concerned with tenements and lands. We learn, from the details of a dispute³ as to the tithes of Great St Mary's, that he farmed certain acres belonging to that church, some of which had been held by Mr Sherwood, one of his predecessors in the Bedelship. He also, in conjunction with the sons of Sherwood, had the lease of an estate, called the "Harleston Landes," in Cambridge and Coton; and he was granted by St John's College⁴, the owners of that property, the lease of certain holts in Trumpington on his undertaking to pay the late William Sherwood's debts to the college. This was in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, and before he had been appointed a Bedell. In a licence, dated 1529, permitting him and Mr Sherwood's sons to alienate the lease of the Harleston lands, Mr Redman is described as "of Gamlingaye." Mr Redman also leased from St John's College "the Burbolt" with three tenements and a garden all in St Andrew's parish. He also was the tenant of certain University property⁵, which was afterwards held by Mr Philip Stringer, who succeeded him as Bedell and who married Maria Redman⁶. As in the Burbolt lease of 1578 he had been styled "of Cambridge" while in the Harleston licence (1579) he is described as "of Gamlingaye," we may presume that the date of his resignation of his Bedelship was 1578, 9.

PHILIP STRINGER [c. 1579—1592]. In the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*⁷, many details are given of the life of this Bedell, who

¹ *Grace Book A*, p. 72 b, where the form of admission is given. *Baker MS.* 42, p. 133 b. In the receipts preserved in the Registry (vol. 99), our Bedell always spells his name "Redmayne."

² Romilly, *Grad. Cant.* p. 493.

³ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5810, p. 40.

⁴ *Baker's History of St John's College*, pp. 382, 383, 399; 384, 392, 399; 402; 404.

⁵ See Stokes's *Univ. Chaplains*, *C.A.S.* xli, pp. 38, etc.

⁶ See p. 91.

⁷ *Ath. Cant.* ii. 438, 439. In the *C.A.S. Communications*, vol. i. no. ix. p. 356, Mr C. H. Cooper, in notes on the Actors in Legge's *Rich. III.*, also gave details of the life of Philip Stringer.

was a scholar and afterwards a Fellow of St John's College. Philip Stringer, of Buckinghamshire, proceeded B.A. in 1567-8, and commenced M.A. in 1571. In 1579-80, he personated the character of the Duke of Buckingham in Dr Legge's Latin tragedy of *Richardus Tertius* at his College. He was appointed Bedell in or before 1579, holding the post for some 13 years¹. He twice visited Oxford to report on the royal receptions there in 1592 and in 1605; and he published accounts² of these events. In 1601 he was appointed Registrar of the Arch-deaconry of Peterborough. He was solicitor to the University and a justice of peace for the town of Cambridge. To these facts recorded by the Messrs Cooper, it may be added that he married Maria Redman on 24 June 1579; and that it was doubtless about this date that he succeeded John Redman both as Bedell and as tenant of certain University property. He was auditor and steward³ of his College, St John's; from whom in 1580 he received a letter of attorney⁴ to take possession of Hedcorne parsonage and to eject Mr John Culpepper. He occupied a garden close to St Clement's Vicarage. In 1583, there is a curious reference to Mr Stringer in Dr Worthington's *Diary*⁵. On 3 June 1584 a Grace was passed appointing him one of the University Vintners. In connexion with this appointment he and his fellow Bedell (who was also *oenopolarum unus*) had to encounter certain legal proceedings. His second official visit to Oxford took place in August 1605 and

¹ In a volume (99) in the Registry, there is preserved a very curious "Reckoning of the 3 Esquire Bedells (Stringer, Smith and Brooke) with each other, 1592." It may be that this account was made just at the time when Brooke was succeeding Stringer, and when Smith was near his resignation. Or it may be that there are some mistakes in the chronological order suggested in the context of this work. For it ought to be stated that some of the successions here given are conjectural.

² Baker *MS.* xvii. 195, etc.; 201, etc.; Nichols's *Prog. James I.* i. 530-559.

³ There seem to have been some difficulties in getting in certain rents, and the College passed a resolution about the debtors to Mr Stringer (Baker-Major, i. p. 549). He also seems to have had private financial difficulties; for, in the accounts of the Neale and Fenn Chest for the year 1614, it is stated: "Mr Stringer's bond not found, thought to bee in y^e Vicechancellors hand, and supposed a desperate debt" (*Camb. Univ. Registry* i. 2).

⁴ Baker's *History of St John's*, pp. 405 and 430.

⁵ *Harl. MS.* 7088; see Cheetham Society's edition.

his report was written almost immediately. He did not long survive this effort; for his burial is entered in the registers of St Edward's Church under date 27 Oct. 1605¹. His first wife (Maria Redman) predeceased him; he married again, however, and his widow Agnes² survived him for some 14 years.

THOMAS SMITH [1585—1592]. Mr Thomas Smith, a fellow of St John's, seems to have succeeded as Bedell when Matthew Stokes resigned that post about 1585, and as Registry³, when that distinguished official died in 1591. Smith, who was born in Northamptonshire⁴, entered at Trinity, but afterwards migrated to St John's, where he obtained a fellowship in 1580. He had proceeded B.A. in the previous year, and he commenced M.A. in 1583⁵. On his appointment as Registry he appears to have resigned the Bedelship. In 1596 the details of a quarrel⁶ between the University and the Town were laid before the Lord Keeper Egerton and Lord Burghley. Among the signatures attached to the University statement was that of Thomas Smith, who rather elaborately described himself as "Notarius Publicus, Registrarius Academie Cantab." Among the articles submitted by the Town was the following:

"Item, a forreyner keepinge open shopp contrarye to the order of the towne, and the lawes of the land, sent for before the Maior, did promesse to shutt his wyndowes untill he might get leave, yet afterwardees by the counsell of Mr Smyth, late Bedle of the Universitie, he would not: whereupon the Maior commanded a Constable to shutt downe the wyndowes, which the Constable did in quiet manner, yett that constable was presentlie by said Smithes means committed to pryson by the Vicechauncellors deputyes, and afterwardees was condemned in x^{li} by the sayd deputye for shuttinge downe those wyndowes....And that forreyner was made a Schollars Serrvaunte, onely to crosse the Maior and to prevent the Masters, as Mr Smith the late Bedle of the Universitye confessed."

On the appointment of Sir Robert Cecil to the Chancellorship in 1601, there was drawn up probably for his guidance

¹ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. 280.

² *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. 489.

³ He had previously acted as Deputy Registry, see under date 21 March 1589, *Grace Book A*, f. 160 a.

⁴ Baker's *History of St John's College* (ed. Mayor), i. 290.

⁵ Cooper, *Athen. Cantab.* ii. 809.

⁶ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 557-561.

a very elaborate "*Projecte¹, conteyninge the state, order and manner of governmente of the University of Cambridge.*" This was, doubtless, the work of Smith, who in the list of officers at the end of the document includes among "the Chief officers of Ministerial Use," "The Register, Mr Thomas Smith, an anciente Master of Arte; and the Three Esquire Bedells, Mr Thomas Brook, Mr William Ingram and Mr Edward² Reading, being all Masters of Arte."

Like so many of the Bedells and Registraries, Mr Smith was concerned with various leases and financial matters, especially with his own College under whom he held the following properties³: A tenement, known as St John's Brewhouse, in St Clement's parish; Hilton Manor⁴, in Huntingdonshire; "The Stone House," in St Sepulchre's parish on the N. corner of St John's Lane; and a messuage in Newnham, with land in Newnham, Cambridge and Grantchester. Mr Smith was appointed auditor⁵ of his College in 1605; before which date he had apparently resigned the office of Registry.

THOMAS BROOK [1591—1629]. Thomas Brook, M.A., of Clare College⁶, was probably appointed a Bedell in the year 1591, in succession to Stringer; though there is an allusion⁷ to him as a Bedell in 1589; *but this may be as a deputy*. He held the office for some 40 years; but considering the length of his tenure there are comparatively few allusions to his name; which, as we have already seen, occurs in various lists. For some years he held the appointment⁸ of Printer to the University. His son Thomas was in 1618 appointed to a fellowship⁹

¹ This manuscript was communicated by Mr Thomas Astle to Professor Lort, who printed it in 1769. It is reprinted in Cooper's *Annals*, ii. pp. 602—611.

² This is apparently a mistake; Mr Ridding's Christian name was Richard.

³ Baker's *History of St John's College*, pp. 441, 445, 446, 453—6.

⁴ Parts of this house were used by members of St John's in times of sickness, etc.

⁵ Baker-Mayor, i. p. 457.

⁶ *Addl. MS.* (B.M.) 7046, p. 81.

⁷ See *Acta Curia*, vol. i. under date (Univ. Registry).

⁸ See *Grace Book E*, p. 209; and *Notes on University Printers* (R. Bowes), C.A.S. xxvi. p. 298.

⁹ Masters's *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, ed. Lamb, p. 346.

at Corpus—"prelectus in Socium Mr Thomas Brooke Trinitatis ad requisitionem Regis," says the College Order Book. This young man died a fellow in July, 1521, and was buried in St Botolph's. His will¹ was proved in the following September, his goods being left to his father. Thomas Brook, sen., and his two brother Bedells, Ridding and Wiseman, were executors to Dr Perse's will² in 1615. Mr Brook died in 1629, and was laid by his son Thomas in St Botolph's. His will was proved³ in the September of that year, the property being left to another son, named John.

At one time it had been proposed that Brook (on account of whose ill-health certain graces were passed) should resign in favour of James Tabor, M.A., of Corpus, the Registry; but the plan fell through; although a rough draft thereof is preserved in the Registry⁴ (vol. 99, 17); where also may be seen bonds made by Brook to the Senior Proctor (1613), for the performance of certain Disputations in Philosophy.

WILLIAM INGRAM [c. 1592—c. 1605]. William Ingram, of Magdalene College⁵, was chosen a Bedell soon after Mr Brook's appointment. He commenced M.A. in 1589. As we have seen⁶ from the *Project* presented to Sir Robert Cecil in 1601, he was then Middle Bedell. He probably remained in office till the appointment of John Wiseman; but there are not many allusions to his doings.

RICHARD RIDDING [1596—1626]. Richard Ridding, of the county of Yorkshire, described in the register of St John's in 1589 as "now poore scholler," was in that year admitted to a newly founded Heblethwaite scholarship in that college⁷.

¹ Baker *MS.* 26, p. 151.

² Cooper, *Annals*, iii. p. 98.

³ Baker *MS.* 26, p. 166.

⁴ The accounts of the Neale and Fenn Chest preserved in the Registry (i. 2; 5; etc.) shew that Mr Brook held certain bonds in the year 1601. These were not discharged till more than forty years afterwards. On 6 November, 1654, there is a note on the final settlement, by Thomas Buck. It will be seen that the Bucks were connected by marriage with Brook.

⁵ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5813, pp. 168-170.

⁶ See pp. 90, 91.

⁷ Baker's *History of St John's College*, ed. Mayor, i. p. 482. Ridding, at the funeral of Dr Clayton, the Master of his College, in 1612, was accorded the place

He commenced M.A. in 1594. He had succeeded John Barter in 1596, when as junior Bedell he signed the Petition¹ against the Mayor. He occupies the same position in the University Report² of 1601, though his Christian name is there given as "Edward." He was Middle Bedell in John Scot's *Tables*³ in 1618 and 1621. The same records speak of him as "Gager to the University." In the year 1625, he paid the Midsummer Bachelors' fees at Great St Mary's⁴. In the year 1600 he was granted a lease⁵ by St John's of Kirkbye's Manor at Ashwell—at which house (as at Hilton) the college had a reservation in time of sickness and necessity. In the last year of his life, 1626, Richard Ridding went to London to announce the tidings of his election as Chancellor to the Duke of Buckingham who rewarded him with a chain worth £100⁶. About this time the following Grace⁷ was passed;

"Cum fidelissimus vester Bedellus Magister Ric. Ridding, non sua voluntate profectus, sed a Regiâ maj: super necessariis vestris negotiis evocatus, ad Baculum suum deponendum, una cum reliquis, juxta statutum atque morem adesse non possit: Placeat vobis, ut socius ejus magister Thomas Buck baculum suum pro illo exhibeat et recipiat, et ut hujusmodi exhibitio et receptio, in omnibus et per omnia, eundem habeat effectum, ac si ipse presens exhibuisset et recepisset."

Richard Ridding died in 1626, his will⁸ being dated September 19th and proved on November 28th of that year. He left his goods generally to his son Amyas, the well-known fellow of St John's College, among the special bequests being rings of 10s. to Thomas and John Buck.

of honour as an Esquire Bedell, being "an inward friend and of his old acquaintance," J. E. B. Mayor, *C.A.S.* xi. 189.

¹ See p. 91.

² See p. 92.

³ See MSS. in the University Library and in various Colleges.

⁴ See *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge* (J. E. Foster, M.A.), *C.A.S.* xxxv. p. 397.

⁵ Baker-Mayor, i. p. 450.

⁶ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 195.

⁷ Baker *MS.* 42, p. 142, 148.

⁸ Baker *MS.* 26, 165. Ridding had resigned his office three days previously to the date of his will; see Registry, vol. 99, 22. His wife, Amy, died about a year previously, being buried at St Sepulchre's on the 30 September 1625 (Bowtell *MS.* 5. 1044).

The memory of Mr Ridding was honoured by Milton, who was in residence at Christ's as an undergraduate when our Bedell died. In his *Elegiarum Liber*, the second elegy, written "anno ætatis xvii," is entitled "In Obitum Præconis Academici Cantabrigiænsis." Thus it begins:

"Te, qui, conspicuus baculo fulgente, solebas
Palladium toties ore ciere gregem;
Ultima præconum, præconem te quoque sæva
Mors rapit, officio nec favet ipsa suo."

Then follow allusions, with characteristic classical parallels, to the white hairs¹ of the Esquire Bedell; to his gracefulness in summoning "the gowned tribes" (*acies togatas*); and to his helpful labours. The elegy concludes:

"Vestibus hunc igitur pullis, Academia, luge,
Et madeant lachrymis nigra feretra tuis.
Fundat et ipsa modos querebunda elegia tristes,
Personet et totis nenia mœsta Scholia."

JOHN WISEMAN [c. 1605—1624]. John Wiseman, M.A., of Jesus College² succeeded Mr Ingram as Bedell. He was junior Bedell³ in 1612, figuring in the funeral procession of Dr Clayton, Master of St John's. A bond, dated 1613 and signed by him, for the performance of certain Disputations, is preserved in the Registry⁴. We have seen that with his fellow Bedells he was an executor to the will of Dr Perse in 1615; and that his official position is stated in John Scot's *Tables* in the years 1618 and 1621⁵. He resigned the post of Bedell on 7 January 1624; but revoked⁶ the resignation the next day. However, he appears actually to have given up office not long afterwards; for Thomas Buck was appointed in that year and in Wiseman's will⁷ (to which a codicil was added on June 2nd of the following year (1625) and which was proved on the 20th

¹ This may be poetic licence, for Mr Ridding does not seem to have been an old man at his death.

² *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5818, p. 168 b.

³ See *C.A.S. Communications*, no. xi. p. 140, where Mr Brook is senior and Mr Ridding 2nd Esquire Bedell.

⁴ See Registry, vol. 99, 18.

⁵ See MSS. in University Library and in various College Libraries.

⁶ Registry, vol. 99, 20 and 21.

⁷ *Baker MS.* 26, p. 158.

of that month) he is styled "nuper unus Bedellorum." He left his property to Frances his wife, and John his son. John Wiseman held the appointment of vintner, which he resigned on 2 June 1625.

THOMAS BUCK [1624—1670]. Thomas Buck, who succeeded John Wiseman as Esquire Bedell in 1624¹, was the eldest son of Thomas Buck of Oakley², in the county of Essex. He entered at St Catharine's and having taken his B.A. was elected a fellow on March 16, 1616. He was Steward and Bursar, and was very energetic in extending the buildings and area of his college, for which purpose he both gave and advanced³ considerable sums of money. The year following his election as Bedell he was, by a Grace dated 13 July 1625, appointed one of the University Printers, being required to deposit a bond of £200. Mr Bowes, in his *Biographical Notes*⁴, gives many facts as to Thomas Buck's long and vigorous connexion with the Printing Press; dwelling upon his quarrels and partnerships with Leonard Greene, with his brother John Buck, with Roger Daniel, etc. Leonard Greene asserted that "Mr Bucke was inexperienced, having lead a students life," and that he had set up a printing press—"the Angell"—in his own name. John Buck, who had also been appointed a University Printer, made an agreement with his brother on May 15, 1632, by which he assigned his printing patent to Thomas for seven years for a payment of £56 a year, and agreed to execute his brother's duties as Bedell during that period. Differences, however, arose between them before long. Roger Daniel, who had been appointed⁵ a Printer to the University on 24 July, 1632, agreed with Thomas Buck to take the tenement called the Augustine Friars⁶, wherein the said Thomas

¹ Bishop Browne's *History of St Catharine's College*, pp. 95, 182.

² *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5822, p. 21.

³ Browne, *History of St Cath.* pp. 95 and 182; and Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* ii. p. 74, etc.

⁴ R. Bowes, *Biographical Notes on the University Printers*, C.A.S. xxiv. pp. 283, etc.

⁵ In succession to Francis Buck, a third brother, who had only held office for about two years.

⁶ Thomas Buck purchased this property from Mrs Beck, the sister of

Buck dwelt together with the printing house, etc., for six years at £190 a year. Thomas, however, had his differences with Daniel. The eldest Buck seems to have been more or less actively connected with the printing press almost till the date of his death in 1670.

There can be no denying that Thomas Buck was from a financial point of view very successful in his printing and other undertakings; there can also be no doubt that he was very generous with the money which he obtained. It has already been noted how liberal he was to his own College¹; it may be added that he was one of the largest contributors to the repairs effected at Jesus College² after the Restoration; while in his will³ these two Colleges received further benefactions from him.

And as against the complaints brought against him by his printing partners, may be set⁴ the following extract from Barrow's *Prefatory Oration* in his *Mathematic Lectures* (p. xvi):

"Idem ille, cujus quotidie vestris oculis augusta species corporis et oris veneranda dignitas observatur cujus indies promptissimam humanitatem persentiscitis, cujusque toties in procurandis gravissimis negotiis vestris, asserendo honore, commodis provehendis gnavam, fidam, proeperamque operam experti estis. Vir sane qui cum omnibus bonis artibus haud mediocriter excultus sit, cum prudentia et fide, so often tried he yields to none, and in industry excels all. He, with the loss of his health and money, took the greatest care of the University Press, out of regard to the honour of it: and with what types he printed, especially the sacred writings, all posterity will admire. And it was amazing that a man of his years and little health could do what a younger and stouter man could hardly perform in this way: so much was he concerned for the honour of the University."

Dr Perse, in 1536. The above transaction, however, shews that he must have leased the buildings some years before. See also Fuller, *History of Cambridge* (ed. Prickett and Wright), pp. 66, 67; *Warren's Book* (ed. A. W. W. Dale, M.A.), p. 117.

¹ See p. 3.

² Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* ii. 143; it may be added, that it was through Mr Buck's agency that the buried plate at Jesus College was brought to light in 1652 (*Gray's History of Jesus College*, p. 118).

³ Baker *MS.* 26, p. 226.

⁴ See Cole, 5863, 42, whose curious lapse into translation is here followed. See also a tribute paid to Buck as a Bookbinder (in connexion with the work at Little Gidding) by Mr Davenport, *C.A.S.* 5 Feb. 1906.

This allusion is occasioned by the fact that Mr Thomas Buck was one of the executors of Mr Henry Lucas in establishing the Professorship of Mathematics, of which Isaac Barrow was the first holder. He and Francis Hughes, who was for so many years a Fellow-Bedell, were also the University executors to the will of another great Benefactor, Mr Crane¹.

Many interesting records of his official duties during the long period—with its historical changes—might be quoted; such as his arrest² of Mr Nathaniel Bernard in 1632; his dispute³ with St John's College as to certain fees in 1634; his opposition to the Fen-draining scheme⁴ when he represented both the University and the Town, in 1651; his delegation from the Senate against the proposed Durham University in 1659; his efforts with regard to Dr Holdsworth's library in 1665, etc. Towards the end of his career, he and his colleagues (his brother John and Mr Francis Hughes) were allowed to pay a deputy on account of age. On 5 Dec. 1664, the following Grace⁵ was passed:

“Cum magistri Thomas Buck, Johannis Buck, Franciscus Hughes Bedelli, pene senio confecti nequeant munia sua, sicut soliti fuerant, praeestare: Placeat vobis, ut in commune levamen, aliquem in Artibus Magistrum impensis suis conductum subornent, ne forte requiratur, qui Bedelli officio, cum res exigit, fungatur.”

“Magister Mathæus (Whinn), vel alius aliquis in Artibus Magister,” was proposed as a deputy; and the Registry accordingly for some time performed also the duties of a Bedell.

Mr Thomas Buck married three times⁶, but left no children. He resided, as we have seen, in the former Priory of St Austin. Cole, in some of his volumes in the British Museum, has left a sketch⁷ of part of the old building (as it was in the days⁸ of

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 452.

² Baker *MS.* B, p. 205.

³ Baker's *History of St John's College*, edn Mayor, i. 508-5.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, pp. 435, 444, 455, 473, etc.

⁵ Baker *MS.* 42, p. 134 b; *Grace Book H*, p. 353.

⁶ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5822, p. 21; Baker *MS.* 26, 226-8; his third wife, who survived him, being Elizabeth (the widow of a Mr) Thompson.

⁷ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5843, p. 261. The arms were “*Buck*, v. a Bend *Erm.* between 2 Bucks sejant *Arg.*” (See Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantab.* p. 81.)

⁸ The Curator of the (Old) Botanic Garden then lived in it.

Tyson, the amateur Corpus artist), of the arms of the Buck family, etc.; together with a chart of their pedigree. The residence¹ being in St Edward's parish, Thomas Buck had a place² (by the courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall) in a special "pew" in St Edward's, and in that church he was buried. "He died³ at his residence on Friday, March 4th, 1670, at 9 at night." His will⁴, which was dated 21 September, 1667, was proved 17 June, 1670. He left the bulk of his property to his nephew, Thomas, son of his brother Francis; there being, as before noted, legacies to St Catharine's and Jesus Colleges.

It should be added, as illustrating the confidence with which he was regarded by the authorities, that in 1641-2, when there was "a loud report being brought to Dr Ward, then pro-Vice-Chancellor, that the stock of the University would be plundered," £160 was taken out of the Neale Chest and entrusted to Thomas Buck. This sum was handed by our Bedell towards the building of the Vicar's house at Burwell on 20 July, 1652. (See a letter from Dr Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, to Dr Seaman, V.C., 21 October, 1654. University Registry, i. 2, p. 10.)

JOHN BUCK [1626-1680]. John Buck, who was also a member of St Catharine's College⁵, was born in 1597, being four years younger than Thomas, whom he survived ten years. Appointed Bedell in succession to Richard Ridding in 1626, he held the office till his death in 1680, a period of 54 years. We have seen that he (*ætate confectus*) was latterly allowed a deputy⁶; thus in 1671, in connexion with the election and installation of the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor, we read the following item⁷ in the Proctors' Books: "To Mr Whinn

¹ Bowtell *MS.* 6, 2430.

² Baker *MS.* 25. 388. Alderman Newton (*Diary*, *C.A.S.* xxiii. p. 38) speaks of "old Mr Buck," on Christmas Day, 1668, as "receiving the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," at his parish church.

³ Alderman Newton's *Diary* (edn J. E. Foster), *C.A.S.* xxiii. p. 56. For an allusion to his tombstone, see *Warren's Book* (ed. Dale), p. 123; see also Blomefield's *Collectanea Cantab.* p. 81.

⁴ Baker *MS.* 26, p. 226.

⁵ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5818, p. 168.

⁶ See p. 98; *Grace Book* Θ, p. 182.

⁷ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 547.

Deputy Bedell and Mr Peck 4th. etc." Matthew Whinn¹, M.A., of St John's College, was the Registry of the University, and had been for nearly 30 years, when he thus acted in the stead of our aged Bedell. In the same year (1671), John Eade, of Emmanuel, was appointed Deputy to Mr Buck by a Grace² (Oct. 25th). Allusion has already been made to his tenure of the office of University Printer, to which he was appointed on 16 December, 1625, and to his agreement and disagreement with his brother Thomas as to the printing-business³.

A curious book⁴ of the duties of a Bedell, etc., was written by John in the year 1665, when he was aged 68, extracts from which have been printed by Dean Peacock as *Appendix B* to his work on the *Statutes of the University*.

John Buck is another example of the intimate relationship that existed between many of the holders of the office with which we are dealing; for he married Ann Brook⁵, the daughter of a former Bedell. They lived in St Botolph's parish⁶; two of their children, Samuel and John, were baptized in that church, where the latter—as an infant—and Mrs Buck, the year before her husband, were buried. Mr John Buck died⁷ on 22 October, 1680, at the age of 83, having held the Bedelship since 1626.

FRANCIS HUGHES [1629—1669]. From 1680 we must go back more than half a century to 1629, when to Thomas Brook as Bedell succeeded Francis Hughes, M.A., a member of Trinity⁸, to which College he had been admitted Westminster Scholar,

¹ In the Registry (vol. 99) there is preserved a curious collection of memoranda as to the performance of certain duties of the Bedells, sent from time to time from Buck to Whinn. "Notes in the time I executed Mr Buck's place," the Registry calls them. This volume also contains legal "opinions" of Sir Thomas Exton and Dr Boord that John Buck had no authority to appoint a deputy without a Grace of the Senate.

² *Grace Book* G, p. 57.

³ See p. 96.

⁴ "Collections of some material Things who doe concern both the Corporations, viz. the University and the Town of Cambridge, but especially the University, etc. by John Buck, etc."

⁵ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5822, p. 21.

⁶ Bowes, *Biographical Notes*, C.A.S. xxvi. p. 304.

⁷ Alderman Newton's *Diary* (edn J. E. Foster), xxiii. p. 81: "at his son Thomas Buck's house at Westwick."

⁸ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5813, p. 169.

on 12 March, 1616¹. He also held the office² for a long period—40 years. Allusion has already been made to certain of his official acts in connexion with his long-contemporary colleagues. He also was the compiler of a manuscript book³, with notes on University proceedings. "He died⁴ at his lodgings in Trinity Hall between 7 and 8 on 30 October, 1669; he made and sealed his will dated the 21st October 1669, he was buried in St Botolph's Church on All Saints' evening." There is an interesting memorandum in a volume⁵ in the Library of Jesus College—*Egidius Romanus de Regimine Principum*—which contains the following inscription: "17^o Decembris 1633. Franciscus Hughes unus ex Armigeris Bedellis Amicissimus vir et benefactor dono dedit Amoris ergo."

JOHN PECK [1669—1682]. On the death of Mr Hughes, a curious dispute took place in connexion with the choice of his successor, an account of which is given in the chapter on the Election of Bedells⁶. The Candidates were Marmaduke Urlyn, of Pembroke, William Worts, of Caius, and John Peck, of St John's. A majority of the Senate voted for Mr Worts, but the Heads⁷ refused to nominate him, and Mr Peck, receiving more votes than Mr Urlyn, was declared to be elected. Mr Worts appealed to the King in Council. Mr Peck was, however, "continued in execution of his charge." The new Bedell, who was a Staffordshire man⁸, took his B.A. in 1659, was elected to a *Beresford* fellowship at his college (St John's) on April 10th of the following year, and commenced M.A. in 1663. His Bedelship lasted for about thirteen years, from 1669 to 1682. He is specially mentioned⁹ in connexion with the installations

¹ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5846, p. 261.

² Among the earliest references to his work as a Bedell is one to his collecting the shares paid by the Colleges in connexion with Comedies played before Charles I at his visit in 1632. (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Appendix 2nd Report*, p. 128.)

³ *Baker MS.* 41, 212–218, 42, 73 b; *Cole MS.* 42, 65, etc.

⁴ *Ald. Newton's Diary*, C.A.S. xxiii. p. 58.

⁵ *Dr James, Jesus Library MSS.*

⁶ See pp. 19 and 20.

⁷ *Camb. Portfolio*, i. 244; *Cooper, Annals*, iii. 537–8. See various entries, under date, in *Grace Book* Θ.

⁸ *Baker's St John's Coll.* (ed. Mayor) i. 298.

⁹ *Cooper, Annals*, iii. pp. 547, 560–2.

of the Dukes of Buckingham and Monmouth as Chancellors of the University in the years 1671 and 1674 respectively; in the latter case the notification of the election was made by John Peck and John Moor, a fellow of Clare, to whom the Duke of Monmouth gave "a noble reward." Peck is said to have been "an able Civilian¹, and well verst in the Customs and Statutes of the University"; and, like the last two Bedells, whom we have chronicled, he left a manuscript book² on the duties of his office. He was also one of the University Printers³; the Grace for sealing his Patent being dated 20 October, 1680.

WILLIAM WORTS [1670—1704]. We have seen how an Order in Council dated 8 December, 1669⁴, had confirmed John Peck in the Bedelship to the disappointment of William Worts. Old Mr Thomas Buck, who had been a Bedell for more than half a century, was evidently failing, and on 1 March following the King sent a letter mandatory⁵ to the Heads requiring them to prick or nominate William Worts, M.A., fellow of Caius College, on the next vacancy in the office of Esquire Bedell. The design of this mandate is thus stated:

"Our aime herein is not so much to repair and salve the particular unhappiness of him the said William Worts, whereby he may have fallen under your displeasure, as to reunite and cement the affections of all parties in that our University and to reestablish a good understanding and concord between the Head and Body."

The letter had hardly reached the University before "Thomas Buck died⁶ at his house in St Edward's parish, on Fryday March 4th, about 9 at night." On March 7th the Heads "pricked for Beadle" Messrs Worts and Urlin, and on

¹ Baker *MS.* vol. 42; which is described as having been originally Peck's property.

² *Ibid.* pp. 1-102.

³ Bowes, *Biographical Notes on the University Printers*, C.A.S. xxvi. p. 309.

⁴ See p. 101.

⁵ Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 540. Later on in the same month, after the death of Mr Buck and the appointment of Mr Worts, the King recommended for the first vacancy in the Bedelship, Christopher Barker (apparently the third printer of that name). The same individual was also recommended at the end of 1675, both by the King and by the Duke of Monmouth, "a Bedell being ready to die." See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, under date.

⁶ Ald. Newton's *Diary*, C.A.S. xxiii. p. 56.

the following day "at the Consistory at a full congregation" the former was chosen; the votes being William Worts 108, and Marmaduke Urlin 92. The new Bedell¹, a fellow of Caius (1668-1676), was the son of a former fellow of the same college (1635-1641). He married a Cambridge lady, named Mary Day, and their son (afterwards well known as a benefactor) bore the same name as his father and grandfather, William Worts. Mr Worts held office for over 30 years as junior Bedell, etc. In that capacity, he took part in the installations of the Dukes of Buckingham and Monmouth as Chancellors. In the latter case in 1674 we have an elaborate picture of him, in London :

"Four or five of the King's Life Guard well mounted going before to make way through the Crowd (which was very great) the Junior Bedle Mr William Woorts went first in his Bedle's Gown Velvet Cap Gold Hat-band and Regent's Hood, holding his Bedle's Staff the round End upward. After him followed the Regents etc."²

As senior Bedell, he pronounced³ the proclamation of King James II on 9 February, 1685, "the vicechancellor dictating; both standing upon the steps of the Cross and afterwards in the middle of the Market Hill."

Mr Worts seems to have resided⁴ in the old Priory of the Austin Friars, in succession to his predecessor Thomas Buck. He died on 6 March, 1704, "between the hours of 7 and 9 at night," as Alderman Newton (*Diary*, p. 114) tells us with his usual detail, adding: "and buried in Great St Maryes Church on the Fryday following being the 10th March 1703 between 6 and 9 at night." It was not he (as is often stated) but his son William, of St Catharine's College, who is commemorated by the University for his Benefactions. With regard to the orthography of the name, Mr Romilly⁵, the Registrar, remarks: "Ipse subscripsit Woorts, filius autem ejus Worts."

HUGH MARTIN [1680-1716]. Three days after the death of old Mr John Buck, there was an election for the vacant

¹ Venn's *Biographical History of Caius*, vol. i. pp. 291 and 404.

² Baker *MS.* xxxi. 274.

³ Baker *MS.* xlii. 151.

⁴ Bowtell *MS.* 6, 2430.

⁵ *Graduati Cantabrigienses* (1856), p. 498.

Bedelship, the candidates¹ being Hugh Martin, a fellow of Pembroke, and Richard Nurse, a fellow of Trinity. The former was successful, obtaining some seven score votes, while Mr Nurse received between fifty and sixty. Mr Martin had taken his bachelor's degree in 1671, and his master's in 1675². On 9 December, 1682, he was appointed University Printer³. Alderman Newton (*Diary*, p. 86) gives the following account of his marriage:

"Hugh Martin one of the Esquire Beadles of the University of Cambridge and Mrs Mary Simpson were married in Emanuel Colledge Chappell by Dr Bolderston Master of that Colledge, on Tewsday morning being the 5th February 1683 betweene the houres of 9 and 10, Dr Nathanael Coga Master of Pembroke Hall gave him in marriage present then onely Dr Bolderston and his wife, Dr Coga and mee Samuel Newton, it was a fine sunshine morning the great frost which had continued above 2 months breaking or thawing that morning."

Like his predecessors, Thomas Buck and William Worts, he seems to have resided⁴ at the old house of the Augustine Friars.

His death is thus recorded by the diarist Newton⁵: "Munday about 10 in the morning [Aug. 6th] dyed Mr Hugh Martin Esquire Bedle and was buryed on the Wednesday night following in St Edward's Church further north Chancell being the 8th of August 1716." He was 68 years old at his death. (See Blomefield's *Collectanea Cantabrigiensia*, p. 83.) Warren, however, says 66 (*Book*, p. 123).

PURBECK RICHARDSON [1682—1683]. The successor to John Peck was a fellow of Trinity College, who had proceeded B.A. in 1672⁶ and had commenced M.A. four years later. He only held office as a Bedell for a short period, and all that has to be recorded of him is his melancholy end. To quote the entry from Alderman Newton's *Diary*⁷: "Purbeck Richardson on Munday morning March 26th 1683 between 8 and 9 of the

¹ Newton's *Diary*, p. 81.

² *Graduati Cantab.* (1823), p. 313.

³ Bowes, *Biog. Notes*, C.A.S. xxvi. p. 310.

⁴ Bowtell MS. 6, 2480.

⁵ Alderman Newton's *Diary*, p. 127. See also Edward Bud's *Diary* (C.A.S. 8vo Publ. v. p. 17), "Aug. 6, Mr Martyn the Beadle dyed of the strangury."

⁶ *Graduati Cantab.* (1822) p. 395.

⁷ Newton's *Diary* (edn Foster), C.A.S. xxiii. pp. 84, 85.



A VICE-CHANCELLOR, preceded by 3 ESQUIRE BEDELLS. 1690.

[From Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*.]



**A COMMISSARY,
preceded by a YEOMAN BEDELL.**

[From Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*.]

clock shott himselfe with a birding peice; he did it wilfully but the Jury of the Coroner found upon their enquiry he was not *compos mentis*." His death having taken place in his rooms in Trinity College, he was buried at St Michael's two days later, being described in the Burial Register¹ as "Purback Richardson student."

JOHN PERN [1683—1715]. In the place of the unfortunate Purbeck Richardson was chosen John Pern, a fellow of Peterhouse. He was born in 1644; proceeded B.A. in 1661, being then a member² of St John's; was elected to a fellowship at Peterhouse; and commenced M.A. in 1665. He was a great-nephew of the well-known Dr Andrew Pern, who passed from St John's to Peterhouse in the sixteenth century; as did another Andrew Pern in the eighteenth. He held office from 1683 to 1715³, early in which year "on Fryday January 7th in the evening he dyed." He signed himself⁴ "John Pern, M.A., Esquire Bedell and Public Notary." He was engaged, personally or officially, in several law-suits⁵. In one of these, John Pern claimed from William Worts, son and executor of the Bedell of the same name, certain moneys arising out of a partnership in connexion with the sale of wines, etc. This partnership had been concealed from the University authorities. Pern had paid £700 into the business, and had received from time to time sums amounting to £875. Lord Chancellor Cowper, on 2 May, 1707, gave judgment in favour of Pern, and the judgment was confirmed on appeal.

EDWARD CLARKE [1704—1727]. To William Worts in 1704 succeeded Edward Clarke⁶, a fellow of Clare, who had taken his B.A. in 1680 and his M.A. in due course. At the election there was a close contest⁷ between Mr Clarke and Mr (afterwards Dr)

¹ *St Michael's Register* (edn Venn), *C.A.S.* xxv. p. 128.

² *Grad. Cantab.* (1828) p. 367.

³ *Newton's Diary* (*C.A.S.* pp. 85, 156); *Rud's Diary* (*C.A.S.* Oct. Publications, v. p. 18). His name occurs among the Benefactors of his Collage.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, iv. p. 74.

⁵ See Josiah Brown's *Reports* i. 196—199; Leach's *Modern Reports*, x. 125, 156, etc.; Attwood's *Diary*, pp. 79—86.

⁶ *Grad. Cantab.* (1828), p. 99. He had been Proctor the year before (1708).

⁷ *Registry*, vol. 99, 49.

Wm Willymott, a fellow of King's. The most remarkable event in his career¹ as a Bedell was his attempt to arrest Dr Bentley, the Master of Trinity.

In his "Deposition"² we have a curious account of how, on 23 September, 1718, and on subsequent occasions, "this zealous Lictor" endeavoured "to have the glory of *hooking the Leviathan*", as he termed it." He was not successful. Indeed on one occasion he was himself "imprisoned," being locked in a room in Trinity Lodge "for two hours at the least." And when Dr Bentley consented to surrender, it fell to the lot of Mr Attwood, another Bedell, to receive him, Clarke being then "himself arrested by a severe fit of the gout." At the visit of the Chancellor in the following month, Attwood, in his *Diary*, under date Oct. 12th, 1718, tells us that "Robin Grove [the Registry] acted as Bedell for Ned Clarke, who had the gout still."

Edward Clarke was deputed by his college (Clare) to superintend the completion of their buildings³. He died on 13 January, 1727⁴; and "the Society agreed to accept a sum of £360 (£300 towards the Chapel and £60 for an annual commemoration of Dr Blythe) in lieu of all its claims upon the estate of Mr Edward Clarke, sometime fellow of the College." Mr Clarke, by his will, left £100 towards "the New Building" (the Senate House), "£5 a year being to be paid to his sister during her life." There is a long and elaborate inscription⁵ for his tombstone in St Edward's Church, given by Warren.

¹ He carried a letter of congratulation from the University to Sir Wm Dawes, on his translation from the see of Chester to the Archbishopric of York. (See Attwood's *Diary*, p. 88.)

² Middleton's *Proceedings against Dr Bentley*, iii. 273; Ed. Rud's *Diary*, C.A.S. Oct. Publications, v. p. 21; Cooper, *Annals*, iv. 150, etc.

³ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, ii. p. 50; where much curious information is printed from the *Diary* of Richard Attwood, the Bedell to be chronicled in the next paragraph.

⁴ Wardale's *History of Clare College*, pp. 81, 88.

⁵ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5905, p. 41. Some fifteen or sixteen years earlier, on May 5th, 1711, it was reported that Mr Clarke had died of small-pox. But Alderman Newton, who entered the rumour in his *Diary* (p. 123), subsequently added: "This was a false report, he is recovered and very well in health."

⁶ Warren's *Book* (ed. Dale), pp. 123-9.

Mr Clarke was also a benefactor to Peterhouse, of which his father, James Clarke, had been a fellow¹.

RICHARD ATTWOOD [1715—1734]. At the election² on January 12, 1715, caused by the death of John Pern, 82 votes were recorded for Richard Attwood, a fellow of Pembroke, as against only 3 for John Oakley, a fellow of Peterhouse. The successful candidate tells us: "I invited the whole University next day to a glass of wine at the Mitre, except the Heads. I treated the whole College on Saturday the 15th." The new Bedell had taken his B.A. in 1699³ and his M.A. three or four years later. He was elected to a fellowship at his college in 1703. It was to him, as pointed out under the last paragraph, that Dr Bentley surrendered in the year 1718. Like several other Bedells, he left a written account of his official experiences and duties; a copy⁴ of which may be seen in one of Cole's volumes in the British Museum. In the same volume are a number of poems written by Attwood. So in the University Library⁵ at Cambridge, in one of Baker's MSS., there is *An Imitation of Milton*, composed by our Bedell. It has been described as "a humorous poem not remarkable for refinement." He also left a collection of College *Memoranda*. There was formerly, in St Bene't's churchyard⁶, a very curious inscription by him on Nathaniel Bacon. Mr Attwood died in the year 1734; and, in his will⁷, which was dated 5 August, 1732, and proved 18 May, 1734, he shewed himself a public benefactor to

¹ Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantab.* p. 1...

² See p. 16; and *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5252; *Ald. Newton's Diary* (C.A.S. Oct. Publications, xxiii. p. 126); *Ed. Rud's Diary* (C.A.S. Oct. Publications, v. p. 18). At the pricking by the Heads the voting was more equal (Registry, vol. 99, 49). It may be added that Mr Attwood had previously acted as Deputy Esquire Bedell (see *Grace Book A*, and Whiston's account of his trial before the V.C. and the Heads—*Appendix to Historical Preface*, p. 1, *sub anno* 1710). Indeed his *Diary* doubtless implies that he had acted as Deputy since the year 1706.

³ *Grad. Cantab.* (1823), p. 16.

⁴ *Cole MS.* 5852, pp. 1–85.

⁵ *Univ. Libr. Mm.* vi. 42 (14).

⁶ Le Neve, *Monuments*, ii. 285; Blomefield, *Collect. Cantab.* p. 48.

⁷ Recorded by his friend, T. Baker; *MS.* 36, p. 87. He had, during his lifetime, made liberal gifts to the College. See Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 148; Dyer, *Privileges*, ii. 40.

his college. In one of the private bequests he wrote: "I give John Howard all my wearing apparell, Bedle's gowns excepted." He also left to his fellow Bedells a ring each.

ROBERT SIMPSON [1716—1749]. In the year (Aug. 10th, 1716) following the appointment of Mr Attwood, Robert Simpson was chosen¹ a Bedell in the room of Hugh Martin, deceased, for whom he had previously acted as Deputy². Mr Simpson, who held office from 1716 to 1749, was a fellow of Caius College³, and had proceeded B.A. in 1709 and M.A. in 1713. A copy of a manuscript by him follows the similar production by his fellow-Bedell Attwood, in the British Museum volume⁴ just mentioned. "The Deposition⁵" of Mr Clarke the Beadle, tells of Robert Simpson's share in the proceedings against Dr Bentley in 1718.

By a Grace passed on 1 November, 1749, Thomas Bennet, of Queens', was appointed Deputy Esquire Bedell, but Mr Simpson died⁶ in London at the end of the month, and was buried at St Edward's, Cambridge, on December 6th of that year. He bequeathed £300 for the benefit of his college.

THOMAS HUNTMAN [1727, Jan. to Dec.]. Six days after the death of Edward Clarke on 13 January, 1727, Thomas Huntman (B.A. 1714, M.A. 1718), a fellow of Trinity College⁷, was chosen in his stead. He had previously, since the year 1724, acted as deputy for Mr Clarke⁸; but he did not hold the Bedellship long, for he died⁹ on December 10th of the same year.

¹ Alderman Newton's *Diary* (C.A.S. xxiii. p. 128). See also Edward Rud's *Diary* (C.A.S. Oct. Publications, v. p. 17), "Aug. 9th 1716 Mr Simpson of Caius and Mr Thirlby of Jesus were prick'd for [Mr Martyn's] Beadle's staff. Aug. 10th Mr Simpson was chosen Beadle by 124 votes against 66."

² Attwood's *Diary*, Jan. 15th, 1715.

³ *Grad. Cantab.* (1823), p. 428. He held his fellowship from 1711 till his marriage in 1739. After the death of his wife, he again took up his residence in college. See Dr Venn's *Caius*.

⁴ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5852, pp. 86-96.

⁵ Cooper, *Annals*, iv. 153.

⁶ Cole, *MS.* 5852, p. 86.

⁷ *Grad. Cantab.* (1823), p. 253.

⁸ Attwood's *Diary*, under date, May 18th, 1724.

⁹ *Simpson's Book*, u.s.

[SIR] JAMES BURROUGH [1727—1754]. The fourteenth of December saw the second election¹ of a Bedell in the year 1727, the successor to Thomas Huntman being Mr (afterwards Sir James) Burrough, a fellow of Caius, who received exactly 100 votes, his opponent Hickie Scarfe, a fellow of Pembroke, obtaining 85 suffrages. Burrough (B.A. 1712, M.A. 1716) held his Bedellship 26 or 27 years, until his appointment² as Master of his College. His career³, especially as an amateur architect, is so well known, that reference need only be made to the *Biographical Records* of Dr Venn and to the *Architectural History* of Willis and Clark.

His knighthood was conferred upon him, soon after his disappointment at the rejection of his scheme with regard to a southern wing to the University Library which should correspond to the position of the Senate House.

Cole (*Add. MS.* 5852) gives extracts from a Note Book on University proceedings said to have been compiled by Sir James Burrough; but Dr Venn points out that the notes are continued after the death of the Bedell-Master.

He was doubtless one of the three corpulent Bedells alluded to in Kit Smart's characteristic extempore spondaic⁴:

Pinguis tergeminorum abdomina Bedellorum.

¹ *Simpson's Book, Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5852, pp. 86, etc.; see also paper preserved in the University Registry (vol. 99, no. 49).

² In a poem by Nicholas Hardinge, of King's (c. 1748), on the *Status of Academic Glory*, a Beadle is made to say: "Why may not I...for a Headship change the Beadle's Mace?" (*Nichols's Illustrations of Literature*, i. 66).

³ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vii. 445.

⁴ *Dyer's Privileges*, ii. Appendix, p. 49, where is the following rendering:

"Three Bedells sound, with paunches fat and round."

Dr Bentley, at the trial of Tinkler Duckett, of Caius, enquired: "which was the atheist?" and on Duckett being pointed out, who was a small and spare personage, he exclaimed: "What, is that the atheist? I expected to have seen a man as big as Burrough the Beadle." Monk, who relates this anecdote, adds: "I cannot determine whether the character in this jest was Mr Burrough, or his brother-mace Mr Burrowes, not knowing which was the larger man; the truth is that the portly appearance of the three Esquire Beadles of that day did much credit to University cheer. They were described by Christopher Smart in a copy of Latin verses, by the periphrasis" (quoted in the text). Monk, *Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. pp. 394, 395.

THOMAS BURROWES [1734—1767]. The similarity of name¹ between this Bedell and the official whom we have just chronicled—"his singular brother"—must have been confusing, during the 20 years that they held office together. Thomas Burrowes², the successor (in 1734) to Mr Attwood, was a fellow of Trinity, who had proceeded B.A. in 1728 and commenced M.A. four years later. It is perhaps hardly fair to quote the following characteristic effusion from the pen of Cole³, who wrote of Thomas Burrowes:

"Jovial and sociable, and marrying a lady of Cambridge of the name of Yardley, by indolence and carelessness, they eat and drank their fortune almost all up: so that they were always in the utmost distress. The Duke of Newcastle got him a place of about £100 per annum; I think it was Chimney Sweeper to the King, which was of great use to him. His wife was one of the most slatternly, bad-housewifely women he could have met with; always lolling her head out of window, if the season allowed it. They had a son of Trinity College [B.A. 1768] who was very wild and extravagant, and what was left of the estate at the father's death he soon made an end of."

They lived on the west side of Trinity Street⁴, in part of what had been St Catharine's Hostel. This is in the parish of St Michael's, and the Registers⁵ of that church have many entries referring to Mr and Mrs Burrowes and their eight children, one of whom (Elizabeth) lived to the age of 74, and was buried on January 6th, 1826. The lady who is, it is hoped, unfairly described in the above quotation died in August, 1757; and the Bedell 10 years later, being buried in St Michael's on 13 August, 1767. Some sixteen months before his death, a

¹ Indeed, in the nomination paper preserved in the Registry (vol. 99, 49), the name is spelt Burrough. He obtained 90 votes; while Mr Richard Dawes, a fellow of Emmanuel, who was *pricked* with him, was accorded 12. Searle, who had been defeated by the other Mr Burrough, received 7 votes, while Mr Sandys Hutchinson, a fellow of Trinity, obtained only 2.

² *Grad. Cantab.* (1823), p. 78. He was proctor for Dr Bentley in his action against Colbatch (see Monk's *Life*, pp. 388-9).

³ *Add. MS.* (B.M.) 5863, p. 11 b.

⁴ Carter's *History of Cambridge*, p. 16. Mr Bowtell, the Hospital Benefactor, and the writer of the MSS. which he bequeathed to Downing College, afterwards lived, and had his place of business here.

⁵ *St Michael's Registers* (ed. Vann), C.A.S. xxv. See Index.

Grace¹ was passed (21 March, 1766) appointing William Chafy, of St John's, Deputy Esquire Bedell—owing to the infirmity of Burrowes and of the officer next to be named.

THOMAS BENNETT [1749—1770]. The successor to Mr Simpson in 1749 was Thomas Bennett², of King's College, who had taken his LL.B. in 1727, and who for about a month had been acting as Deputy Esquire Bedell. He was in his 50th year, when he was appointed to the full office, and he held the post for a little over 20 years, dying on March 15th, 1770, aged 70 years. He was interred in St Botolph's³, near his wife Catharine, whom he had buried 40 years before. Four of their children were also interred there. As we have seen, during the last four years of his life, William Chafy, of St John's, acted as Deputy to Bennett and Burrowes.

BEILBY PORTEUS [1754—1755]. When James Burrough was appointed Master of Caius in the year 1754, Beilby Porteus succeeded him as an Esquire Bedell. This distinguished man⁴ was the eighteenth child of a Virginian planter who had returned to England and settled at York. Born in 1731, he entered at Christ's in the summer of 1748, exchanging a sizarship for a scholarship at that college later on in the year. He was 10th Wrangler in 1752, obtaining also one of the Chancellor's medals in the first year of the institution of those classical prizes. He was elected to a fellowship shortly afterwards; and two years later was appointed a Bedell, the other candidate nominated being Humphry Senhouse, B.A., of Christ's College, afterwards a fellow of Pembroke. Porteus only, however, held this office for about a year, resigning his post on 2nd July, 1755⁵. His subsequent career belongs to general, social and ecclesiastical history. He was appointed Bishop of Chester in 1776, and

¹ See *Grace Book* under date.

² *Grad. Cantab.* (1823), p. 39. He was proctor for Dr Colbatch in his controversy with Bentley (see *Monk's Life*, pp. 388–9).

³ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. 258. Cole, *MS.* 5809 (B.M.), p. 21b, has an interesting quotation from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, March 16th, 1770, on the parentage, life and sudden death of Mr Bennett; with comments of his own.

⁴ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xli. 195; and Dr Peile's *History of Christ's*, pp. 237–9.

⁵ *Registry*, vol. 99, 49.

translated to the see of London eleven years later. His name is enrolled among the benefactors of Christ's College.

FRANCIS DAWES [1755—1789]. To Porteus in 1755 succeeded another young man, Francis Dawes, a junior optime of the preceding year, who was a fellow¹ of Peterhouse. He held the Bedellship for 34 years, his long term of office terminating in 1789² by a tragic event, of which Gunning, his successor, gives the following account :

"During this year a circumstance occurred, which caused considerable consternation in the University. Francis Dawes, Esq. was Senior Fellow and Bursar of Peterhouse ; he was also Senior Esquire Bedell. He was a man of social habits, and of a most convivial disposition ; he had an extensive circle of acquaintances both in the county and University, and being possessed of good property, was better able to indulge his fondness for society. It was during this period that Stourbridge Fair was in all its glory ; and the theatres, which were temporary ones (there being generally two), always attracted a crowded audience. The members of the University were frequently in the habit of coming up, ten days or a fortnight before the beginning of Term, for the purpose of seeing the theatrical exhibitions, with which the greater number of them were but little acquainted. On the 29th September, Mr Dawes had prepared a very sumptuous dinner for several county families, consisting of the Hattons, Cottons, Serocolds, Pembertons, etc., and in the evening all the party were to visit the theatre. Dinner was to be served at three o'clock. Mr Dawes was in the habit of making many little preparations for his dinners, and always decanted his wine, generally performing these offices immediately after breakfast. His servant was much surprised at his master not making his appearance, and became alarmed when he learned that he had not been seen since breakfast ; and it was imagined he must have expired somewhere in a fit. Search was made in the garden, the grove, etc., but without success. The clock struck three, and several of the guests (more punctual to the hour of dinner than in modern times) had arrived ; their concern and consternation were great, and the search was renewed. At

¹ He had been educated at Charterhouse ; and was, previously to his election to a fellowship, a fellow-commoner at Peterhouse. Dr Walker conjectures that he was one of the practical jokers who drove Gray the poet across to Pembroke. Long extracts from the private accounts of Mr Dawes are printed in Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 185, 473, etc.

² In the preceding year, Dawes, who was the senior fellow, had taken part with Bishop Yorke in an attempt to override the other fellows in the election of a new Master. This proceeding (says Dr Walker) "must have placed Dawes in awkward relations to the other fellows, and may have a bearing on his otherwise inexplicable suicide."

length some one went to the old tower, which is now visible, but was at that time concealed by dilapidated buildings; there the Bursar was found hanging, and must have been so many hours, being quite cold. It is very extraordinary that no person could give any probable conjecture as to the cause of this rash act, and it has always remained an equal mystery."

WILLIAM CHAFY [1767—1772]. On the death of Thomas Burrowes in August, 1767, William Chafy, of St John's, was elected¹ an Esquire Bedell. His name appears in the Mathematical Tripos of the preceding year. Shortly afterwards he obtained a Fellowship² at Sidney, commencing M.A. in 1769. He resigned his mace in 1772. He subsequently held a minor canonry at Canterbury, and various incumbencies in that neighbourhood. His eldest son went up from King's School in the metropolitan city to Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in 1796; but, like his father, he afterwards passed to Sidney College, of which eventually he became the Master. The Kent clergyman lived a long and honourable life³, dying in the year 1826.

JOHN BEVERLEY [1770—1827]. On the 23rd of March, 1770, there was an election of an Esquire Bedell, in the room of Thomas Bennett of Queens', whose death had occurred five days before. The only candidates were John Beverley, B.A.⁴, of Christ's College, who polled 98 votes, and Richard Hey, B.A., of Sidney, who obtained 68 votes. The latter, whom we shall meet again, was the more distinguished scholar; but the influence of Lord Sandwich⁵ obtained the election of the former. Readers of Gunning's *Reminiscences* will remember in how many pages

¹ At the nomination by the Heads, John Wise, a Johnian, who had recently graduated, received equal votes, and was *pricked*, with William Chafy (Registry, vol. 99).

² His brother John was a fellow of King's.

³ See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1826, i. 180 and 1848, ii. 213; *D.N.B.* ix. 436.

⁴ Beverley's name was inserted by the Proctors in the Tripos List of 1767 (Wordsworth's *Scholæ Academicae*, p. 359).

⁵ Among Dr Webb's *Collections* in the University Library are some curious verses "Sung at Lord Sandwich's," from which the following may be quoted:

"John Beverley long had been Fiddling the Bass,
But his Fingers so long seldom hit the right place;
So the great double Bass to take up he did beg,
Where he measures the Stops by the length of his Leg."

of those entertaining volumes John Beverley is pilloried. William Cole, in his MSS., adds to the list of scandals. It should be remembered, however, that the two Bedells—Beverley and Gunning—took opposite sides in politics and on various public questions—such as the proceedings against William Frend—in connexion with which Beverley took part as a proctor in the Vice-Chancellor's Court as well as in his official position as a Bedell. Beverley published two accounts of the trial. He was also the author of several other University pamphlets; including an *Account of the Academic Ceremonies*, certain *Poll Books*, and two of the early numbers of the *University Calendars* (1797 and 1803).

Beverley held the Bedellship for many years. When he had completed his fiftieth year of office, a stipend (£100) was provided by the Senate for the appointment of a deputy, and John Smith, B.A., of St John's, was chosen (23 March, 1821). Gunning gives a most curious account of this individual, who during the three years he held office published an edition of Pepys's *Diary*, a *Poll Book*, and a *Transcription of the Subscriptions of the Officers of the University*. He acted as deputy until 24 March, 1824, when George Leapingwell (B.A., Corp. Ch. Coll.) was appointed in his place.

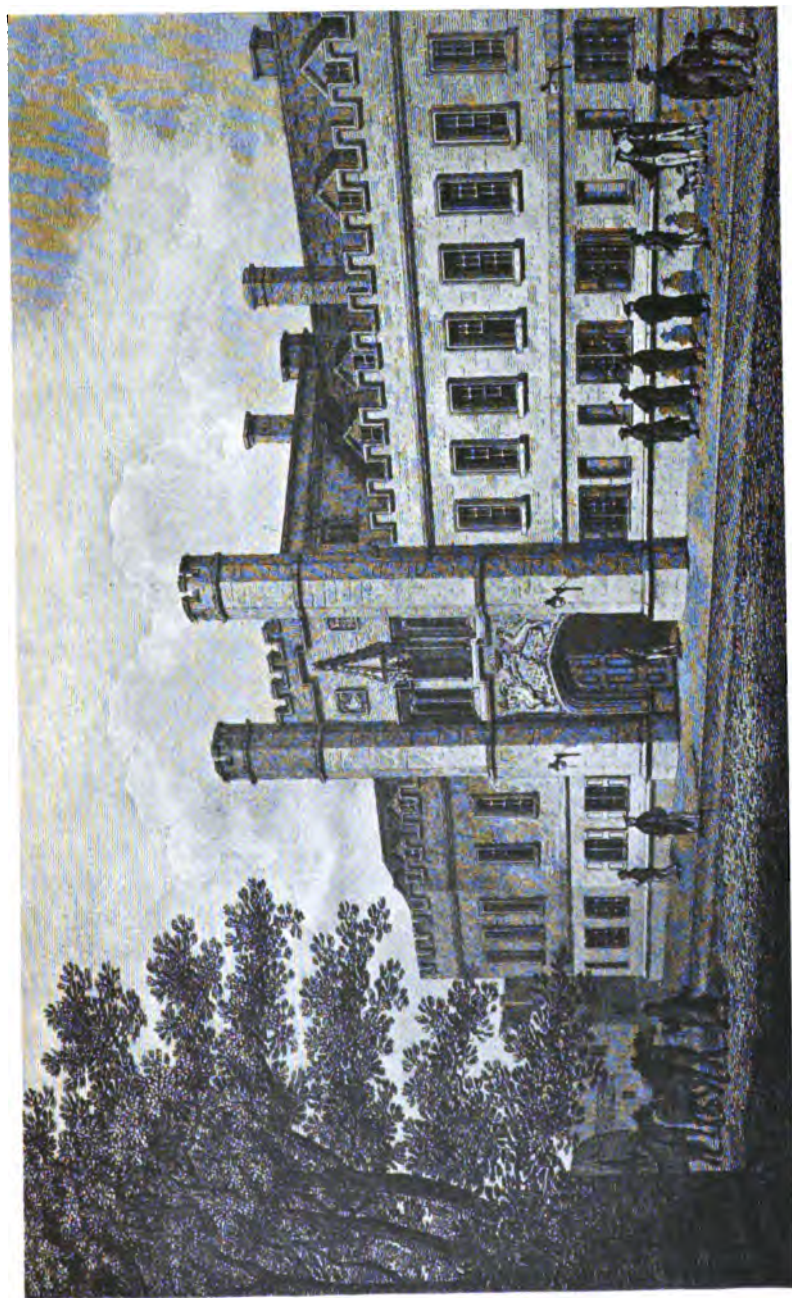
John Beverley¹ died in the year 1827, having been an Esquire Bedell² for the long period of 57 years.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*³ (1781) has some satirical verses entitled "The University Maces," too long to be quoted, with very free comments on the habits, pecuniary and otherwise, of the Bedell whom Gunning's *Reminiscences* have made so notorious.

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, iv. 450.

² The following description of an Esquire Bedell, in the second *University Calendar* (1797), written by John Beverley, may be quoted here: "The Bedell's are officers for life, they must be men of learning, and have taken the degree of A.M. They are chosen by the Senate, and have a stipend from the University. Their duty is to wait upon the Vice-Chancellor and Senate upon all public occasions and solemnities, who (*sic*) they preceed with rods, which were originally white wands of wood, but are at present of silver, and have been much enlarged."

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, p. 532.



AN ACADEMICAL PROCESSION (1809),
passing Christ's College.

[From Harraden's *Cantabrigia Depicta*.]

RICHARD HEY [1772—1775]. The candidate, who had been defeated when John Beverley was chosen in 1770, was on the resignation of William Chafy two years later elected Esquire Bedell, defeating Richard Colston. Like the retiring Bedell, Richard Hey was a member of Sidney College, and so was his opponent. Hey had taken a good degree, having graduated as 3rd Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medallist in 1768. At that time he was a Magdalene man, but he soon afterwards migrated to Sidney, where one of his distinguished brothers was tutor. He only retained the Bedelship for three years, and during the second of these, when he was Moderator, Stephen Elleray, B.A., of Emmanuel, was appointed, by a Grace, to act as his deputy. His subsequent career¹ need not here be dwelt upon, except to remark that he issued various prize essays and other publications, and that he returned to Magdalene as fellow and tutor.

WILLIAM MATHEW [1775—1797]. On the resignation of Richard Hey in 1775, William Mathew, LL.B., a fellow of Jesus, was chosen as his successor, defeating William Eamonson², a Trinity Inceptor in Arts, who obtained a fellowship at St Catharine's College in that year. It is a pleasure to find Gunning³ speaking in high terms of Mr Mathew⁴, who became senior fellow and bursar of his college. He was one of those who joined in the condemnation of William Frend. Having held the Bedelship for 22 years, Mathew died in the year 1797, being buried in his college chapel⁵ on May 23rd of that year.

HENRY GUNNING [1789—1854]. On the tragic death of Francis Dawes in 1789, Henry Gunning was elected, and for no less than 65 years—till his decease in 1854—he held office as an Esquire Bedell. In his *Reminiscences* he has left a detailed

¹ See the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxvi. 314.

² Registry, vol. 99, 49. The name of Edward Balme, a fellow of Magdalene College, had also been submitted to the Heads. The voting was as follows: Mathew 54, Eamonson 50.

³ *Reminiscences*, i. 143, etc.

⁴ Among Wall's MSS., in the University Library, are a few notes on University proceedings, by Mr Mathew (Mm. v. 44, p. 155).

⁵ Bowtell MS. (extracts from the Registers of All Saints Church), 5, 1089.

account of his candidature, nomination and election. The other candidates were two medical men (Thomas Emly, a fellow of King's, and William Lambe, a fellow of St John's) and Wm Eamonsen, the unsuccessful applicant at the last election (fourteen years before). The last mentioned and Gunning found equal favour¹ with the Heads, and were nominated, but at the election the Christ's man was chosen by 112 votes to 64. The new Bedell, who was a member of Christ's College, had graduated as 6th Wrangler in the previous year (1788), at the age of 20. His *Reminiscences*² are so well known that it is not necessary to do more than refer to his quarrels with Beverley and Ware, to his pronounced political opinions, to his long-continued services to the University and to the Town of Cambridge—on the Council of which he sat for some years in his old age. Three times, as Senior Bedell, he received the gold chain customarily given by a new Chancellor of the University—from the Marquis Camden (1834), the Duke of Northumberland (1844) and Prince Albert (1847). In the last named year, he met with a serious accident, slipping on a piece of orange-peel and dislocating his hip. The old gentleman, who was in his eightieth year, was rendered permanently lame; but he continued to hold office for some six or seven years longer till his death in 1854. Besides the well-known autobiography to which allusion has several times been made, Gunning published two or three editions of Wall's³ *University Ceremonies*, and a pamphlet on *Compositions for Degrees* (1850).

CHARLES ISOLA [1797—1814]. A few days after the death of William Mathew in 1797, there also passed away another well-known resident in Cambridge, Agostino Isola, a greatly respected teacher of Italian, who had numbered among his pupils William Wordsworth and other distinguished men.

"There was a great desire amongst the members of the University, particularly amongst those of his own college, to do something for his son—Charles Isola, B.A., of Emmanuel—who was a man of inoffensive

¹ Registry, vol. 99, 49.

² See also *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiii. 344.

³ In the *Cambridge Portfolio*, ii. 526, Adam Wall, tutor and bursar of Christ's College, is spoken of as an Esquire Bedell. But this is, of course, a mistake.



AN ESQUIRE BEDELL (1803).

[From Harraden's *Costumes*.]

manners, and had not, I believe (the quotation is from Gunning¹), an enemy in the world; but his shyness and reserve were so great that it pained him to mix in society."

At the election² Isola was chosen by a large majority, the numbers being 94 for the Emmanuel man and 42 for John Ellis, M.A., a fellow of King's.

"We held office together (continues Gunning) for sixteen years in the most perfect harmony. I found him kind and accommodating, and ready to undertake all the duties that did not include the necessity of dining in a large party, to which he had an insuperable objection."

On March 1st, 1803, Charles Isola married Miss Mary Humphreys—and to them in 1809 was born Emma Isola³, a name dear to the hearts of all lovers of Elia. It is difficult to resist the temptation to dwell upon Charles Lamb's connexions with Cambridge, upon his adoption of Emma after the death of her father the Bedell, and upon that young lady herself—to whom poems were addressed by Landor and Bernard Barton and Moxon as well as by Charles and Mary Lamb, and in whose celebrated Album more great poets wrote than in any other book in the world's history—but our theme is the Esquire Bedells, and it only remains to add that Charles Isola died in the year 1814. "It was with great regret that I followed him to his grave," says Gunning⁴.

GEORGE WARE [1814—1826]. "And sorry was I," continues the author of the often quoted *Reminiscences* (p. 76), "to discover, a few days afterwards, that George Ware M.A., of St John's College, must inevitably be his successor, as there was no other candidate; and such was the disesteem into which the office had fallen from Beverley's conduct, that the Heads were under the necessity of requesting Mr (afterwards Dr) Haviland to allow his name to be returned to the Senate in conjunction with Mr Ware." George Ware, who entered⁵ at

¹ *Reminiscences*, ii. 75.

² Among the names, submitted for nomination to the Heads, were those of Mr Eamonson who had been unsuccessful at the two previous elections, and Mr Ware, who was more fortunate on the next occasion (Registry 99, 49).

³ See works on Charles Lamb by Ainger, Lucas, etc.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, ii. 76.

⁵ Information kindly supplied by Mr R. F. Scott, Master of St John's College

St John's in 1790 (probably from St Paul's School), graduated in 1794. He took his name off the books shortly afterwards; but was subsequently readmitted, proceeding M.A. in 1797. He held the Bedelship from 1814 till his death, which occurred "on 25 July 1826 at Pentonville after a few hours' illness, aged 67."

GEORGE LEAPINGWELL [1826—1863]. Gunning must again be quoted (p. 358):

"Having most acutely felt the degradation of being obliged to associate with men whom I blush to recollect as my Colleagues, I have a proud satisfaction in being able to record the entire restoration of the respectability of the office of Esquire Bedell, by the appointment in 1826 of George Leapingwell, M.A. of Corpus (the son of my old college friend, with whom, in my undergraduateship, I had passed so many merry hours), and of William Hopkins, of Peterhouse, who was elected the following year. To these kind friends I am indebted for their considerate and generous conduct, in discharging between them the duties of the office, from the time I became so entirely incapacitated by my accident."

Mr Leapingwell had graduated in 1823 and in the following year, as we have seen¹, he was chosen deputy to John Beverley. He proceeded M.A. in the year (1826) in which he was appointed² Bedell, on the death of George Ware. He was called to the Bar, and acted as a law coach; being the author of a *Manual of the Roman Civil Law*, etc. He proceeded LL.D. in 1851; and acted as deputy Recorder of Cambridge (for Mr Serjeant Storks) and as deputy Professor of Political Economy (for Mr Pryme). Dr Leapingwell was a Whig in politics. He was noted³ for "his tall, spare, dignified form"; and for many years he was a Captain of Volunteers. He died⁴ towards the end of the year 1863, and was buried, with military honours, in the churchyard of St Mary the Less on the Christmas Eve of that year, having held the Bedelship for 37 years.

¹ See p. 114.

² Registry, vol. 99, 49 (1). The other candidate was Arthur Leapingwell, B.A., of Peterhouse.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, i. pp. 264, 400.

⁴ Obiit Geo. Leapingwell 24 Dec. 1863, neminem habens successorem, quia statuta anno 1858 confirmata duos tantum bedellos Academiae concedant (H. R. Luard, *Grad. Cant.* 1884).

WILLIAM HOPKINS [1827—1866]. The other Bedell, whom Gunning welcomed, was William Hopkins, of Peterhouse, who succeeded Beverley in 1827, Arthur Leapingwell being again a candidate. The new official, though 34 years old at the time of his election, had only just graduated as 7th wrangler. He had been engaged¹ in farming his father's land, before he entered the University. He became a very successful private tutor; and a record² of his memorable successes has already been quoted on p. 45. He subsequently made some remarkable investigations in Geology, publishing several treatises in connexion with that science, as well as various mathematical works. He was elected President of the Geological Society, and in the year 1853 he presided over the annual meeting of the British Association. He retained the Bedelship for nearly 40 years, until his death in 1866; though during the last year of his life Mr Besant had been elected Assistant Esquire Bedell, with a salary of £100, paid from the Common Chest (Graces, March 9th, 1865, etc.).

HUGH GODFRAY [1854—1877]. When the lengthened career of Henry Gunning terminated in 1854, he was succeeded³ by Hugh Godfray, of St John's, who had graduated as 3rd wrangler two years before. Mr Godfray was the author of a treatise on the *Lunar Theory* and of other mathematical works. He held office till his death in 1877; but owing to ill-health, he had for three or four years been allowed a deputy, paid at the rate of £120 per annum. The Vice-Chancellor was authorized to make the appointment, which was held by Mr Greenhill (Emmanuel) 1874-5 and by Mr Beck (Trinity Hall) 1876.

WILLIAM HENRY BESANT [1866—1870]. To Mr Hopkins in 1866 succeeded (without a contest) W. H. Besant, a fellow of

¹ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxvii. 339, which gives the date of his birth as 1793; but the Register of Peterhouse gives his age at the date of his admission into college in the year 1823 as 37 (Dr Walker). He would, according to this entry, be 41 when he took his degree.

² See Gunning's *Reminiscences*, ii. p. 359.

³ At the nomination, H. Godfray received 8 votes; J. Roberts, a fellow of Magdalene, 7; Mr (afterwards Dr) Westmorland, 6; Mr (afterwards Sir J. B.) Phear, 5; etc. At the election Mr Godfray obtained 155 votes, and Mr Roberts, 127 (Registry, vol. 99, 49-50).

St John's, who was Senior Wrangler in 1850, and who, as we have seen, had already acted as *Subbedellus* for more than a year. This distinguished mathematician only held office for three or four years, resigning in 1870 owing to his engagements as a private tutor, etc. Several mathematical treatises have proceeded from his pen. He was approved as a D.Sc. in 1883.

ROBERT KALLEY MILLER [1870—1873]. The last-named Esquire Bedell was followed by¹ a young fellow of Peterhouse whose name occupies an unique position in the University Calendars. At the time of the 1867 Mathematical Tripos Examination, R. K. Miller was prevented by an unfortunate accident from more than qualifying for an *Ægrotat* degree; but as a commencing Bachelor of Arts he obtained the First Smith's Prize. Like Dr Besant, however, he did not long retain the Bedelship, resigning on 20 September, 1873.

EDWARD JOHN GROSS [1873—1877]. To Mr Miller succeeded² E. J. Gross, 8th Wrangler in 1866 and a fellow of Caius. Mr Gross, however, did not hold the post for long, as his remarkable powers of organisation have for many years been requisitioned by his college and the University. For more than 30 years he has been one of the secretaries of the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations Board. He is the author of certain mathematical text-books.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, M.V.O. [1877—]. Mr Gross's successor³ (a son of Professor Sir George Humphry) is celebrated for his triumphs at Wimbledon and his counsels at Bisley. He graduated in 1873 and proceeded M.A. and LL.M. three years later. When the 8th Duke of Devonshire succeeded his father as Chancellor of the University, Mr Humphry received the

¹ Among the candidates were E. B. Prest (Trinity), J. Dunn (St John's), R. Wilkinson (Jesus), and R. Leeson (Downing). At the nomination Mr Miller received 18 votes and Mr Leeson 8; and at the election the former obtained 118 votes and the latter 77.

² Among the candidates were Messrs W. H. H. Hudson (St John's), R. Leeson (Downing), and E. S. Shuckburgh (Emmanuel), who withdrew before the nomination.

³ The candidates also included T. O. Bonser (Clare), Aubrey Stewart (Trinity), F. C. Wace (St John's), and C. W. Hitchins (Sidney). Mr Wace and Mr Humphry were nominated by the Council; and at the election on May 1st, 1877, the former obtained 167 votes, and the latter 203.

usual gift of a gold chain of office. The present holder of the Senior Esquire Bedelship has already occupied that picturesque position for more than 30 years.

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE [1877—1893]. At the election¹ which followed Mr Gross's resignation, Mr Humphry's unsuccessful opponent was F. C. Wace, a fellow of St John's, a distinguished Wrangler 19 or 20 years before. The death of Mr Godfray, during the same year (1877), however, gave Mr Wace a more successful opportunity. He held the Bedelship for some 15 years; broken only by his acceptance of the office of Mayor of Cambridge for the civic year 1890-1. While the maces of the ancient borough were being carried before the academic chief magistrate, a deputy² carried the University symbol of office before the Vice-Chancellor. Mr Wace died on 25 January, 1893, at the age of 56.

WILFRID AUSTIN GILL [1893—1899]. On the death of Mr Wace in January, 1893, W. A. Gill, a fellow of Magdalene, was elected³. This good classical scholar, in the midst of much useful work for his college and University, was cut off at a comparatively early age on 7 December, 1899. During his long illness, A. Gray (Jesus) had been appointed Deputy Esquire Bedell.

ARTHUR HUMBLE EVANS [1899—]. Mr Gill was succeeded⁴ by A. H. Evans, of Clare College, a successful private tutor, who has published several interesting works on Ornithology.

¹ Among the candidates were J. H. Taylor (Trinity), C. W. Hitchins (Sidney), and Aubrey Stewart (Trinity).

² Mr C. Geldard, of Trinity College (see *Grace*, May 2nd, 1889, "On the nomination of Mr Wace, and with the approval of the Vice-Chancellor").

³ The voting was 817 for Gill and 805 for C. Geldard (Trinity).

⁴ Mr Evans obtained 229 votes against 60 recorded for H. G. Comber (Pembroke).

CHAPTER IX.

THE YEOMAN BEDELL.

A SECTION may be added upon the Inferior Bedell, both because this useful official played his part for some hundreds of years in the history of the University, and also because some who have not carefully discriminated in the use of the word Bedell have occasionally confused this individual with those important officers, the Esquire Bedells.

It has been observed that the title *Bedellus* is never used for the Yeoman Bedell, but *cum nota diminutionis*.

An enumeration of the names, by which this subordinate has been called, either officially or casually, will suggest some of his duties and conditions.

Such titles¹ are the Yeoman Bedell, the Inferior Bedell, the Sub-bedell, the Under Bedell, the Chancellor's Bedell, the Vice-Chancellor's Marshal, the Dog Bedell, the Bachelor's Bedell, the Collector, the Proclamator, Clamator or Præco, etc.

Some of these designations suggest their own meaning; others need some words of explanation.

One other title may be alluded to in passing—and this the more, because the holder of it has been supposed—quite unwarrantably—to be the original of our Inferior Bedell. Dean

¹ See the following paragraphs, where these designations are quoted. Perhaps the expression "the Vice-Chancellor's Marshal" ought not to be included, for (as will be seen below) it is a somewhat free translation of the Latin term "*Stator*," which is casually used in Soone's description. It may be added that the duties of the Yeoman Bedell had certain points of similarity with those of two other subordinate officers, the Marshal and the School-keeper.

Peacock¹, dealing with the question of the "Master of Glomery," says (which is true) that he was attended by his proper Bedell, and goes on to add (what is without any foundation) that this latter official is "*now said to be the yeoman bedell.*" Dr Peacock is generally so accurate in his facts and so acute in his deductions, that it is a matter of surprise to find him make such a statement. The spheres in which the Bedell of Glomery and the Bedell of the Leet Court moved were quite different, and no proof of any kind is given to shew that they had any point of tangency, still less that they became identical.

The Yeoman Bedell had certain duties in connexion with the University general ceremonies. He was a somewhat picturesque figure in processions and in proclamations. This may be seen from the account of the Deputation which waited upon the Duke of Monmouth at his Installation² as Chancellor of the University in 1674—where we read: "Next to these went the two other Esquire Bedles habited as the former, the Yeoman Bedle going in his Gown at some little distance before them to make way through y^e Crowd." Again, but one hundred years before, in an interesting description³ of Cambridge written by a distinguished foreigner, William Soone, who for a while had been Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University, we find these remarks on the academical officers:

"The Apparitors (*Viatores*), commonly called Bedels (*Pedelli*), have all titles, except one, who is the Vice-Chancellor's Marshall (*Procancellarii Stator*)....When the different ranks are assembled in the senate house, which is done by the Marshall going round to all the colleges and halls, and standing in the court with his gilded staff in one hand and his hat in the other, and with a loud voice proclaiming the day and hour of the congregation, you would think the wisest and gravest senators of some great republic were met together."

Here we have "the Bedels with titles," i.e. the Esquire Bedells, and "the Vice-Chancellor's Marshall," i.e. the Yeoman Bedell; but in the account of the proclamations in the courts

¹ Peacock's *Statutes, etc.*, Appendix A. p. xxxv.; Humphry, *Maces, C.A.S.* xxi. 206.

² Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 561.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 330.

of the colleges, there may be some confusion of memory between the duties of the superior and inferior officers.

For the chief duties of the Yeoman Bedell, as a *Proclamator* or *Præco*, were in connexion with the Leet Court and with the official opening of the fairs and markets. In the *Grace Books* there are frequent entries of payments¹ "pro communi proclamacione in foro," "proclamatori tempore nundinarum," etc., the name² of the crier being often given. One of the most important functions of the year was the Magna Congregatio, commonly called the *Black Assembly*, to which not only members of the University and Privileged Persons were summoned, but also the Mayor³ and other chief townsmen. At this gathering, the Yeoman Bedell was in evidence—among his duties being the "warning" the Privileged Persons, and "ye callyng euery man by hys name," as may be seen in an elaborate description of this often quarrelsome meeting by John Mere in his first *Diary*⁴ in 1533, and in John Buck's memoranda⁵ in 1665.

Turning to the University Courts—with regard to the Common Court, we are told, in the *Projects*⁶ of the University drawn up for the benefit of Sir Robert Cecil in 1601, that the Esquire Bedells had to summon "Masters of Arte and such as are of superior degree" and that there is "one Inferior Bedell, chosen by the Chancellor, unto whom it belongeth to summon⁷

¹ The fees payable to the Inferior Bedells were formerly fairly large; but they gradually fell off. On 1 November, 1769, a Grace was passed for allowing the Yeoman Bedell £3 annually in addition to his stipend (then only 40s.), the fees of his office having greatly decreased (*Grace Book K*, p. 496). In 1785 Laughton the Yeoman Bedell received a yearly stipend of £8. On 10 December, 1856, £25 per annum was granted to John Crouch on account of diminution of his income by the Cambridge Award Act, which abolished the University power of licensing alehouses.

² *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 199, etc.

³ See the curious picture in Hare *MS.* i. clii. representing the Mayor taking the oaths before the Vice-Chancellor.

⁴ *Grace Book A*, pp. 225, 226.

⁵ Peacock's *Statutes*, etc., Appendix B, pp. lix, lx.

⁶ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. pp. 602-611.

⁷ For an instance of the payment of the Inferior Bedell, as an officer of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, see St John's Audit Book, 1602-3, quoted in Willis and Clark's *Arch. History*, ii. p. 258.

all such into the Courte as are thither to be called, being under the degree ut supra¹; and dureing the time of the Courte to attend the service thereof." With regard to the Steward's Court or Leet—"kept according to the Charter and Custom therein used"—the document just quoted informs us that "it belongeth unto the same Inferior Bedell, to call before the Commissary all such as are deficient in any of the premisses within the said Faïres; and before the Vice-Chancellor all such as are deficient in the Marketts kept within the Towne." "The Consistory Courte of the Commissary unto the Chancellor sat as well in the University as in Midsummer and Sturbridge Faïres," the Inferior Bedell being always in attendance.

These Courts were naturally unpopular among the Townsfolk, and the office of the Chancellor's Bedell must have had its unpleasantnesses. In the complaints² made by the University, in the time of Henry V, against John Bilney the Mayor and other burgesses, it was alleged that "he refused to allow the bedels to collect amerciaments in the leet of the chancellor; and when Thomas Wering bedel took a distress for such an amerciament³, he took it away, and threatened Wering with indictment." This particular quarrel continued for some years; and during the course of it the townsmen complained of the conduct of John Duke, "sub-Bedell of the University," who was probably either the predecessor or the successor of Thomas Wering as Yeoman Bedell.

It will be noticed in one of the extracts quoted above that

¹ What disagreeable tasks sometimes fell to the lot of the Inferior Bedell may be seen in the accounts of how John Standish was called upon in 1581 to arrest a "bereward," and how nearly he fell into the clutches of the infuriated bear; and again of how the same official was ordered in 1585 to take down a certain sign, and how from a window above he was nearly "skalded" with hot water (Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 388, 405). In Dec. 1677, an undergraduate, Leigh of Trinity, was expelled from the University, and Titus Tillett, the Yeoman Bedell, at the command of the Vice-Chancellor, "did pull of his gowne and take away his Capp" (*Acta Curie*).

² Cooper, *Annals*, i. pp. 164, 160, etc.

³ There is a long and very interesting paragraph on the fees and "on-reasonable amerciaments" in connexion with the Leets and the Chancellor's Bedell in the Complaints of the Mayor and other burgesses presented to certain Judges in 1503 (Cooper, *Annals*, i. 352).

the Inferior Bedell is said to be "chosen by the Chancellor¹." In the records of the *Grace Books* the occasional description of this official as *Bedellus Summi Cancellarii* sounds so imposing that he has sometimes been classed as one of the Esquire Bedells. But an examination of the context will generally reveal some connexion with the Leet Court or the Market or the Fair, and then our official may be recognised. For instance, in *Grace Book B*, ii. p. 58, occurs the entry :

"Item prior de barnewell debet pro nundinis sancti Johannis baptiste vocatis mydsomer feyer pro undecem annis quolibet anno vj^s viij^d ultra xij^s iiij^d receptos annuatim a thoma barber bedello summi cancellarii. Summa debiti eius...iij^s xij^s iiij^d."

Here Thomas Barber², being the Yeoman Bedell, is not dignified with the prefix *magister*. This paragraph just quoted shews that our official was not unnaturally sometimes called³ the *Collector*.

The designation "Dog Bedell⁴" has perhaps its explanation in a popular expression similar to that applied to the attendants of the modern Proctors.

We have just mentioned the names of Thomas Wering and John Duke in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and of Thomas Barber at the commencement of the sixteenth. The *Grace Books* and other University records supply us with the names of many other of these officers—such as Hugh the Bedel⁵, in *Grace Book A*; Thomas Bracebridge, Robert Legert, John Keyll, Sanderson, and Christopher Writinton, all mentioned in *Grace Book B*, ii. sometimes simply as Bedells. John Standish⁶ and Benjamin Prime⁷ held office for many years in the reigns

¹ The Inferior Bedell, John Crouch, who held office from 1831 till its suppression in 1858, had patents from the following Chancellors—the Duke of Gloucester (1831), the Marquis Camden (1835), the Duke of Northumberland (1844), and H.R.H. Prince Albert (1847). See Registry, vol. 99.

² See also *Grace Book B*, pp. 8 and 65.

³ See "The Statute for the Payment of the King's Leet by the Proctors (1541)" (*Commissioners' Documents*, i. 441). On the question of the salary of the Chancellor's Bedell, see a Grace passed in 1535 (*Doc. i. 435*).

⁴ See the *Cambridge Portfolio*, i. 245.

⁵ *Grace Book A*, pp. 48, 49; *Grace Book B*, ii. pp. 11, 134, 161, 163, 176, 181, 182, 190, 207, 287, etc.

⁶ See p. 125; *Add. MS. (B.M.) 5829, 223 (b)*.

⁷ Searle, *Queens'*, ii. 394; Bowtell *MS.* 2766; Perce's Will; Willis and

of Elizabeth, James II or Charles. We have already seen how useful a servant to the University Standish was; while to Prime there are so many allusions that it would not be difficult to write a biography of him. He resided in a house on the old Austin Friars estate; he it was who carried to the Vice-Chancellor in 1626 the fish with a book in its mouth. On his behalf the Senate passed, on 7 Nov. 1606, a Grace¹ to relieve him from an imprisonment to which he had for some months been subjected. John Houlden², who was Yeoman Bedell in Cromwell's time, saw the royal arms on the top of his staff effaced, and saw them renewed when the Commonwealth gave place to the Restored Monarchy. Houlden combined with his Bedellship the business of a stationer. We learn from the *Acta Curiae* that William Watkins was appointed as his deputy on August 6th, 1660, and that Titus Tillett³ was similarly nominated on August 16th, 1667. The latter, who seems eventually to have succeeded him, held office for many years and is frequently mentioned. When the Duke of Monmouth was deprived of the Chancellorship in 1785, his portrait at the University was ordered by the Senate to be burnt, and Titus (who by the bye had marshalled the procession at the installation of the duke) was sent as

a lictor

To vent his loyal malice on the picture.
The beadle's wife endeavours all she can
To save the image of the tall young man⁴.

Clark, *Arch. Hist.* ii. 238 and 258; Baker *MS.* 27. 1; Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 596, iii. 196; etc.

¹ In this Grace Benjamin Prime is thus described: "humillimus vester et fidelissimus Bedellus." Baker *MS.* 27, p. 1; Cooper, *Annals*, p. ii. 596. In 1719 the University similarly came to the rescue of Alexander Norfolk, their Yeoman Bedell, who had been arrested (see Attwood, *Diary*, pp. 158, 159).

² Humphry, *Bedells' Maces*, C.A.S. xxi. p. 217; Registry, Drawer B; Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 416. The *Acta Curiae*, preserved in the University Registry, tell us that he was sworn in as Inferior Bedell on April 19th, 1642, apparently in succession to Cuthbert Acroyd.

³ Ald. Newton's *Diary*, C.A.S. Oct. Publications, xxiii. p. 36; Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 581, 611, 612; Titus Tillett is called a public notary in the dispute as to the fees payable by St John's College to Tabor and Buck (see Baker *MS.* 27, p. 107).

⁴ George Stepney's *Poems*.

In the Registry may be seen a volume (no. 99), at the end of which are certain memoranda referring to the appointments of the Yeoman Bedells (for whose office there was often keen competition) down to the year 1834 when John Crouch succeeded to the post. He still held office in 1858, when on May 20th a Grace was passed that the Inferior Bedellship should cease at the next vacancy. Crouch died before the year was out; and his staff¹ rested in peace in the Registry during the remainder of the nineteenth century.

At the installation of Lord Rayleigh to the Chancellorship in 1908, the mace of the Yeoman Bedell was borne by Alfred Brockett, the University Marshal, who has since that date carried it in Academical Processions.

¹ For a description of this mace see Mr A. P. Humphry's paper so often quoted (*C.A.S.* xxi. p. 213).

APPENDIX A.

DEED No. 940 IN THE TREASURY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Nolothe filius Rogeri Nolothe de Canteburgia et Margareta uxor mea dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Waltero de Oxonia servienti universitatis Canteburgie unam placeam terre cum domo desuper edificata in Canteburgia que jacet inter terram Willelmi Le Combere et terram Roberti Wytesmith in longitudine et a cimiterio beate Marie ad vicum qui vocatur Smitherowe in latitudine.

Habendum et tenendum totam predictam placeam terre cum predicta sua domo et pertinentiis de nobis et heredibus nostris vel assignatis dicto Waltero et heredibus suis vel cuicumque et quodcumque dictam placeam terre cum dicta domo et suis pertinentiis dare vendere assignare vel quocumque modo alienare voluerit : libere quiete bene et in pace jure hereditario in perpetuum.

Reddendo inde annuatim dominis feodi tres solidos ad duos anni terminos videlicet ad festum sancti Michaelis decem et octo denarios, et ad Hokeday decem et octo denarios. Et ecclesie beate Marie quatuor denarios ad dictos terminos videlicet ad festum sancti Michaelis duos denarios et ad Hokeday duos denarios.

Et mihi dicto Nolothe unam rosam in die Sancti Johannis Baptiste pro omnibus serviciis consuetudinibus et temporalibus exactionibus et demandis ad dictam terram pertinentibus. Ita tamen quod dicta Margareta ibit cum dicto Waltero coram judiciariis cum sederint Cantabrigie vel Londonie ad cultus (?) (costs?) dicti Walteri ad cyrografiandam presentem cartam in nostre vendicionis majorem securitatem.

Et nos dicti Willelmus et Margareta et heredes nostri vel assignati warrantizabimus acquietabimus et diffendemus totam predictam placeam terre cum dicta domo et pertinentiis suis predicto Waltero et heredibus suis vel assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum per predictum servicium. Pro hac autem donacione nostra concessione

warantizazione et huius carte confirmacione et sigilli nostri impressione dedit nobis predictus Walterus decem solidos sterlingorum in ger-sumiam (*sic*).

Hiis testibus Johanne Martine tunc majore Cantebrigie
 Willelmo Elyot
 Erneys mercatore
 Osberto ferrur
 Henrico Nadon
 Rogero de Ely
 Ricardo Bateman
 Roberto de Maddinggele
 et aliis.

Data anno regni regni regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis quinquagesimo quinto. [28 Oct. 1270—1271.]

1. "S. Willelmi Nolota."
2. "S. Margarete Letere"?

Endorsed: Carta willelmi noloth et Margarete uxoris eius facta Waltero de Oxonia de quadam placea cum una domo superedificata in vico fabrorum. Et debet per annum .iij. solidos .iiij. denarios et finis inde levatur.

St Mary's.

55 Henry 3.

APPENDIX B.

DEED No. 939, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Oxonia serviens universitatis Cantebrig'—concessi remisi et omnino pro me et heredibus meis quietos clamavi

Willelmo le Comber de Cantebrigia
et Matilde uxori sue

et eorum heredibus et assignatis totum jus et clameum quod unquam habui vel in posterum habere potui in illa placea terre quam habui ex dono et feofamento Willelmi Nolothe filii Rogeri Nolothe et Margarete uxoris sue filie Alicie le Milkest' jacente in parochia Sancte Marie de Cantebrigia in Smithrowe inter terram dictorum Willelmi le Comber et matilde uxoris sue ex una parte et terram Roberti le Witesmith ex altera. Ita tamen quod [nec] ego Walterus nec heredes mei nec aliquis pro me vel per me vel nomine nostro aliquid jus vel clameum in dicta placea decetero imponere clamare vel vindicare poterimus in perpetuum nisi unam rosam annui redditus in festo sancti Johannis Baptiste.

Pro hac autem mea concessione remissione et quieti clamacione dederunt mihi dicti Willelmus et Matilda uxor sua viginti solidos pro manibus in gersumam.

In huius rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui.

Hiis testibus Magistro Thoma de Luda
Henrico Nadon
Errnisio mercatore
Thoma serviente universitatis
Rogerio de Ely
Ricardo Bateman
Roberto Witesmithe
Roberto de Malverne
et aliis.

1. "S. Walteri de Oxonia."

Endorsed : Carta Walteri de Oxonia.
Willelmo le Combere.

APPENDIX C.

DEED No. 892, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

Hec indentura testatur quod magister et scolares domus Corporis Christi et beate Marie Cantebrie dimiserunt ad firmam

Johanni Wesenham bedello

Alicie uxori ejus

et Johanne filie dicti Johannis

unum mesuagium in parochia beate marie Cantabrie situatum inter tenementum dicti Collegii quod Johannes Ramesey barbour tenet ex una parte

et tenementum dicti Johannis quod Thomas ffloore tenet ex altera, et abuttat ad altam stratum

Habendum et tenendum dictum mesuagium prefatis Johanni, Alicie et Johanne filie dicti Johannis

ad totam vitam eorum et uniuscuiusque eorum diucius viventium

de predictis Magistro et Scolaribus et eorum successoribus

Reddendo inde annuatim eisdem Magistro et scholaribus et eorum successoribus quatuor denarios vel duo paria cirotecarum durante vita dicti Johannis et Alicie uxoris sue ad festa Michaelis et Paschæ equis porcionibus. Et post decessum eorundem Johannis et Alicie uxoris sue annuatim viginti solidos ad eosdem terminos et nihilominus faciendo capitalibus dominis feodi illius servicia inde debita et consueta et subeundo omnia alia onera ad dictum mesuagium medio tempore incumbencia.

Et predicti Johannes Alicia et Johanna omnes domos muros et parietes nunc ibidem existentes seu in futurum faciendos quociens et quando-cunque necesse fuerit sumptibus suis in omnibus reparabunt manutenebunt et sustentabunt et unusquisque eorum qui diucius vixerit manutenebit et sustentabit et in adeo bono statu dimittent seu dimittet eorum unus quam illud receperunt nec prædictum mesuagium dimittent nec aliquis eorum dimittet alicui sine consensu expresso prædictorum Magistri et Scolariū vel eorum successorum. Et si aliquod novum fecerint vel aliquis eorum ibidem fecerit illud non ammovebunt nec aliquis eorum ammovebit seu faciet amoveri.

Volunt eciam et concedunt prædicti Johannes Alicia et Johanna quod si prædictus redditus per unum mensem post aliquem terminum prædictum

in parte vel in toto a retro fuerit non solutus, vel si prædictos domos parietes et muros in forma predicta non reparaverit et sustentaverit aut in aliquo articulo predictarum convencionum defecerint vel aliquis eorum defecerit quovismodo: tunc bene liceat magistro et scholaribus et eorum successoribus in prædictum mesuagium cum omnibus pertinentiis suis reingredi et illud cum omnibus bonis suis et catallis in eo inventis absque reclamacione aliquali prædictorum Johannis Alicie et Johanne vel alicuius nomine eorum retinere imperpetuum dimissione prædicta non obstante. Ac eciam in omnibus aliis terris et tenementis dictorum Johannis Alicie et Johanne cum omnibus bonis suis et catallis ubicunque inventis distringere et tanquam propria bona sua abducere et retinere quousque eisdem magistro et scholaribus et eorum successoribus de areragiis dicti redditus dampnis et expensis universis qua ex fraccione alicuius articuli prædictarum convencionum sustinuerint plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Et predicti Magister et Scholares et successores eorum predictum mesuagium prefatis Johanni Alicie et Johanne ad totam vitam suam et eorum uniuscuiusque diucius viventis pro predicto redditu in forma predicta contra omnes gentes warantizabunt. Post decessum vero predictorum Johannis Alicie et Johanne predictum mesuagium prefatis magistro et scholaribus et eorum successoribus integre revertatur et remaneat in perpetuum.

In cuius rei testimonium presentibus indenturis tam sigillum commune dicte domus quam sigilla ipsorum Johannis Alicie et Johanne alternatim sunt appensa.

Hiis testibus: Ricardo Masterman tunc majore ville Cantebrigie
 Johanne Cotton
 Johanne Blaunkpayn
 Ricardo ffouke
 Johanne Herry
 et aliis.

Datum apud Cantebrigiam die Veneris proximo post festum (8 Sept.) Nativitatis beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quarto decimo (22 June 1390—1391).

1. "S. Johis Wesenham bed."
2. Pelican.
3. "Sorta [*or* corda] theologie." upside down.

No endorsement.

The duplicate lease had the seal of the college.

St Mary's.

14 Richard 2.

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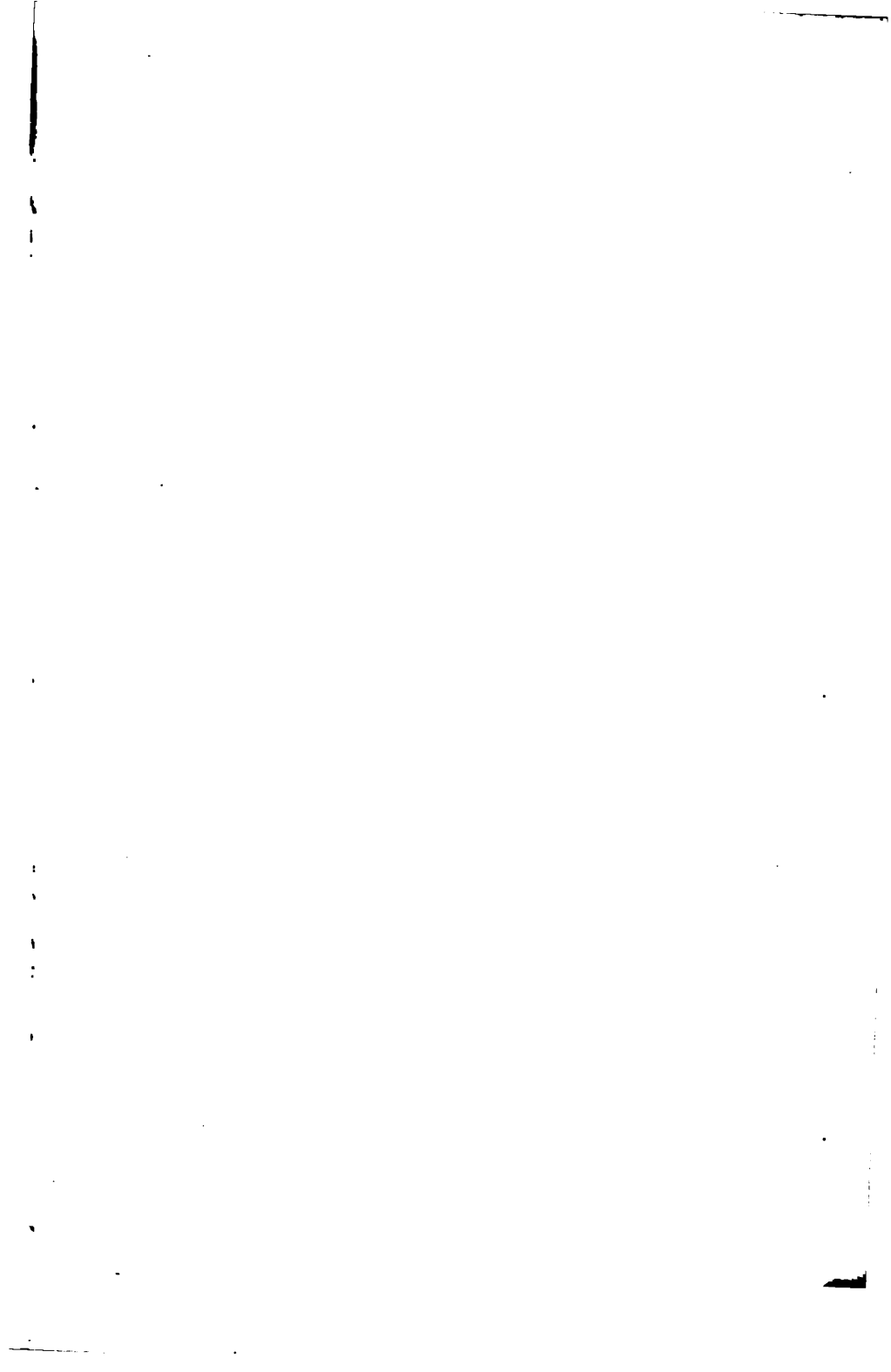
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